

The Congregational Quarterly

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GNOSTIC SCRIPTURES INTERPRETED

By G. A. GASKELL

The great, insistent, unsolved problem of modern Christian Philosophy relates to the disputed historicity of Jesus and to the ignored inspiration of the Scriptures. The opponent critics—Arthur Drews, J. M. Robertson, W. B. Smith, L. P. Couchoud, and Georg Brandes—argue that Jesus is mythical, and thereby suggest that metaphorical meanings underlie the Gospel story. This should agree with inspiration, but in the teaching of liberal Christianity, equally with that of opponent critics, inspiration has no value. All biblical critics, from Dr. Henson, Bishop of Durham, to the erudite John M. Robertson, are quite agreed to neglect the claims of Divine Inspiration to be a factor in the origin of the Scriptures. The writer of the above volume contends that this suppression of ancient doctrine is a vital mistake, for he holds that the only really valuable element in the Scriptures is the DIVINE INSPIRATION that originated them. This Divine factor is prominent in the philosophy of religion which is set forth in this book. In this philosophy the errors, defects, miracles, contradictions and absurdities which we find in the Scriptures, are simply evidence of the symbolism by which the Divine undermeanings are to be discovered. This arcane knowledge would dispose at once of the “difficulties” which beset biblical scholars who studiously ponder over the outer expression and are blind to its inner significance. THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION WOULD RENEW ITS YOUTH when no longer bound down to the materialism of this age. A material Jesus would give place to the concept of a power of God incarnate in human nature, as *The Epistles* teach. The writer draws attention to the “holy men” who wrote *The Gospels* under the Divine Influence which invented and contrived the sacred story in such specific terms that it became a symbolism of the undermeanings. The holy men were not responsible for what they wrote (2 *Pet.* i. 21), hence they never presumed to affix their names to inspired writings.

This book contains interpretations of the *Hymn of the Soul*; a large portion of *Pistis Sophia*; selections from several Gnostic writings; excerpts from *Mandæan*, *Manichæan*, and *Apocryphal* Scriptures; and from Babylonian and Grail legends. In the exegesis of these writings there are to be found, not the banalities of modern anthropology, but meanings of high spiritual value in religion, philosophy and science.

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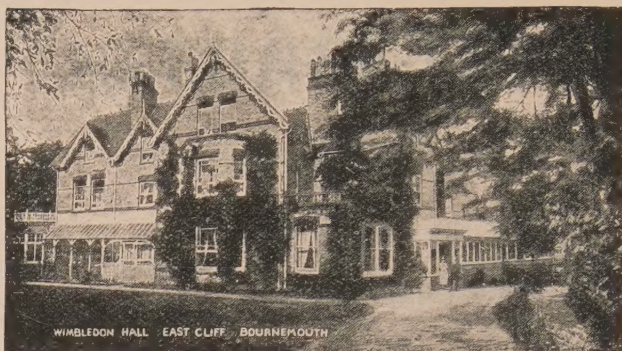
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The Congregational Quarterly

EDITORIAL.

ONE of the most disturbing things we have read of late is the account given by Dr. C. E. Jefferson, the New York preacher, of a conversation he had recently with the Chinese President of Amoy University, whom Dr. Jefferson calls one of the noblest men it has ever been his privilege to meet. The Chinese scholar said :

“ China must arm. No Oriental nation can have the respect of the Christian nations of the West unless it is armed. No Oriental nation can expect justice at the hands of any Christian nation unless it is armed. There is nothing, then, for us but to arm. We must go contrary to the traditions of our people and to the principles of the greatest of our sages in order to secure justice at the hands of the nations of the West.”

Dr. Jefferson says the words left him shamefaced and speechless. And there is enough of truth in them to leave all Christian men sorely disturbed. The only demur we have is to the description of Western nations as *Christian* : they are far from that, and the pity is that Christianity has to bear the blame and reproach due to the policy of Governments, the selfishness of commerce, and the sins of white men. Meanwhile the most encouraging feature of the Chinese situation is the courage and perseverance with which Chinese Christians are bearing their witness and carrying on the work of the Church. Indeed, it may be that out of the present chaos great good may come. The Chinese Christians, unable to rely on the missionaries, will grow in strength of character and in usefulness as their responsibility increases, and we shall probably see the emergence of that indigenous church which is the aim of the truest missionary enterprise. The advocacy of the indigenous church idea is maintained with ever-increasing force and effectiveness by the *World Dominion* Press, which has recently published two pamphlets by the Rev. Roland Allen that deserve careful study : the first—*Le Zoute* (Is.)—is a critical review of *The Christian Mission in Africa* ; the second—*The Establishment of the Church in the Mission Field* (6d.)—is in the form of a dialogue.

* * *

MEANWHILE from India there comes a striking report of a public meeting held in Benares to protest against the proposed closing of the

L.M.S. High School and the lowering of its status to that of a Middle School. Some of the criticism of the Society is beside the mark, as the School has only received slight and occasional support from the public—not a great deal, as is suggested in the extract below—while educationally there are good reasons for the alteration of the status of the school. At a time when nationalist feeling often leads to bitter and unfair criticism of Christian Missions it is encouraging to note that non-Christians recognize the value of the educational work that is being done by missionaries. The Indian newspaper report of the meeting says :

“No greater tribute could be paid to the valuable services rendered by it in the educational field than that so many prominent citizens of Benares should have, in a public meeting, expressed their earnest desire for its continuance as a high school. Christians in this country ought to feel flattered that non-Christians in the centre of Hindu orthodoxy should show so much attachment to a missionary institution, and the management may well reconsider the position and show consideration for the views and sentiments expressed at the public meeting. In view of the amount of support that the school has from time to time been given by public-spirited citizens of Benares, we certainly agree with the public meeting that the London Missionary Society ought not to have negotiated with another body for its sale ‘without consulting the Benares public generally, and in particular the gentlemen who from time to time contributed towards the maintenance of the school and its buildings.’ It is to be hoped that no further steps will be taken to alter the status of the school and that the efforts set afoot by the public of Benares will bear fruit.”

* * *

WHAT was the most important happening at the May meetings, the event which will make the most difference to the denomination in the future? Church Extension proposals? Possibly. Superannuation schemes? Possibly. We should not be surprised, however, if history does not decide that the most important decision reached was that to appoint a Commission to consider our views of the Church, the Ministry and the Sacraments. We have sent a more or less satisfactory—and a more or less unnecessary—reply to the Lambeth Appeal of 1920, the haste with which we have made our response suggesting the overwhelming nature of our feeling! What should we think of a private correspondent who kept us waiting seven years—especially if we had sent an “appeal” to him? The discussions on the Reply revealed the fact that there are almost as many shades of opinion among us as there are in the Liberal party, or even in the Anglican Church itself, even ruling out those whose views are so eccentric that they can scarcely be regarded, except by themselves, as

ngregationalists. We are unfeignedly glad that an attempt to clarify our views is to be made. Would that all other denominations could do likewise !

What is the relation of the local Church to the Church Catholic ? How can the Church Catholic best express itself through the local church ? We believe that the local fellowship is the Church Catholic in a particular place : how can it keep the sense of the whole Church it presents strong and vital ? What is the minimum of organization necessary to this end ? How are Unions, County and National, related thereto ?

Concerning the ministry. What does ordination mean ? Does it mean anything ? There is all manner of contradictory teaching on the point, witness the two articles printed within. Even the Secretaries of the Congregational Union, it is rumoured, do not see eye to eye on this subject ; the utmost diplomacy and tact cannot hide the fact that one is ruddy of countenance and the other the palest of pink. Most Congregationalists, we believe, still hold it to be an axiom that laymen are capable of performing any function in the Church—teaching, administering Sacraments, presiding at Church meetings. We do not believe this still, let us say so : if we do, let us not nullify our belief by our common practice.

On the Sacraments, too, there are many points of view, from the Evangelical, on the one hand, to that which asks for “ fuller ” and “ warmer ” conceptions on the other. In many of our churches baptism has little significance ; in many Church membership is tested by attendance at the Lord’s Supper.

We look forward to the findings of this Commission with interest. Mr. C. Anderson Scott’s *The Church : Its Worship and Sacraments* (C.M., 3s. 6d. and 2s. 6d.) comes at an opportune moment, while we hope it will not be forgotten that Forsyth had things to say on these subjects that time can never make obsolete. Once the Commission reports we hope that we may have the whole time of an Assembly given to adequate discussion. Let us hear men who feel strongly on the different subjects : we shall be no worse for frankly and freely discussing the different points of view : Congregationalism has suffered too much in the past by repressing its differences, and there are still those with a fear complex about a debate on the Union platform. But we have passed that stage now.

* * *

Another question where there is need for us to pause and take stock is that of religious education. We are inclined to get so immersed in the question of dual control that we fail to see where our boat is drifting. On this subject, too, there is a great variety of opinion in our midst—a variety represented in two of the resolutions on Education passed by our Assembly in May. No. 1 reads : “ The Committee is

convinced of the value of religious instruction, and is willing that it should form part of a national system of education . . .” And No. 6: “The task of winning the children for Jesus Christ and the service of His Kingdom belongs not to the State but to the Church.” We are all agreed that the Christian religion is the most important thing in the world, and that an education is not complete without religious instruction. But whose business is it to give it? Roughly speaking, there are two points of view.

Some say—and their opinion is represented by an able article by the Bishop of Gloucester in the April *Church Quarterly*—that it is the State’s business to give religious instruction through a system of national education. In our own denomination there are those who are not merely willing but anxious that this should be done; otherwise, it is felt, countless children will get no religious teaching at all.

Others say that religious instruction is not the business of the State, believing that it is flatly contrary to the principles of freedom that thousands of people should be taxed to teach a religion in which they do not believe. Just as they object to pay for the teaching of a distinctive view of Christianity which they do not share, so they all the more object that non-Christians should have to pay for teaching Christianity. This used to be clearly and definitely the Nonconformist point of view, and it is still held strongly by not a few.

It is, of course, the old question of compromise over again. Are we prepared to abate our old logical insistence on religious freedom because otherwise many children would not get that measure of religious teaching which they now obtain? If so, let us recognize that we are confessing that there is not in the Christian Churches of this country sufficient readiness to make sacrifices and sufficient brain power and ingenuity to provide adequate Christian teaching for all the children whose parents desire it.

A decision of the Supreme Court of Iowa in 1918 puts the old Nonconformist view very clearly:

“If there is one thing which is well settled in the policies and purposes of the American people as a whole, it is the fixed and unalterable determination that there shall be an absolute and unequivocal separation of church and state, and that our public school system, supported by the taxation of the property of all alike—Catholic, Protestant, Jew, Gentile, believer and infidel—shall not be used directly or indirectly for religious instruction, and that above all it shall not be made an instrumentality or proselytising influence in favour of any religious organization, sect, creed, or belief.”

We should be prepared to argue that the political and moral influence of Nonconformity in this country began to decline exactly when Nonconformists began to compromise on this fundamental

principle. Men naturally said: "These people object to pay for the teaching of Anglicanism, but they are willing that people who do not believe in Christianity at all should pay for the teaching of Christianity."

On this matter, too, it would be a useful proceeding to decide on our policy on first principles, and have an Assembly debate. It is no use talking about secular education as if it were a terrible bogey: the fact is that secular education could not produce more ignorance about Christianity than is produced by our present system—or lack of system—as witness Dr. Cairns's appalling disclosures in *The Army and Religion*. We wonder if those who are keen on religious teaching have ever been inside a teachers' room *incognito* or as teachers, and heard the way many teachers regard this part of their work. If it could be revealed what percentage of teachers leaving training colleges last year made no religious profession we imagine that many of those zealous for religious teaching would discover that they did not want their own children—and, we hope, other people's children—taught Christianity in this way. If we see to it that our elementary and secondary school curricula give due regard to the English Bible in the teaching of English literature and to the story of the Church in the teaching of History, we shall not be forsaking our old safe ground. At present we are totally ineffective in this matter because we are discussing secondary and not primary considerations. There are two possibilities:

(1) If we find ourselves agreed, after due deliberation, that we cannot hold the old position, and that religious education must be within the national system, we must throw ourselves with much more energy into all the discussions that are going on in regard to agreed syllabuses, the training of teachers to give religious instruction, and the inspection of such religious instruction by competent persons on the lines of the Rev. W. Blackshaw's article in a recent issue. Only let us do it with our eyes open, recognizing that ultimately it means a secular authority deciding what religious instruction shall be given, and that we are letting the ground from under our feet in our opposition to the State establishment and control of religion.

(2) If we do not decide thus, let us get back to the old fight, and make religious teaching voluntary, as it is in the United States. But, again, let us do it with our eyes open, recognizing that this means tremendous labour and responsibility for the Christian Churches—labour and responsibility so great and sacrifice so heroic that it might make the Churches great! It means calling on Christians to provide adequate instruction by trained people (who believe in the instruction they are giving) for all children whose parents desire it. The kind of thing that would have to be done—but to a much larger extent and more thoroughly—is described in a valuable bulletin just issued by the Harvard Education School—Prof. F. S. Gove's *Religious Education in Public School Time* (Milford, 4s. 6d.)—which describes the efforts the American Churches are making to cope with the problem.

Meanwhile the Churches would do well not to construe their obligations to the cause of education in a narrow and restricted way. Denominational Education Committees should have it as their first business to inspire youth with a passion for learning and not to keep a vigilant eye on other denominations, necessary as vigilance might be. Prof. Bompas Smith, in his important book, *The Nation's Schools*, says among many significant things one which is of great concern to the Churches :

" If the Christian Churches could once more become the representatives and embodiments of man's life at its best, and leaders in pursuit of our supreme ideals, they might directly or indirectly inspire a public opinion on the value of education which would rapidly transform the whole outlook of our schools. In the Churches the love of truth and beauty, the passion for justice, and the spirit of self-sacrifice ought to take visible shape for all men to see. . . . The Church would thus again become the nation's spiritual head, inspiring our national ideals while not interfering with matters outside its province. In particular, it would present to the nation an ideal of education by which public opinion could not but be stirred."

* * *

ONE of the first necessities, if the Christian Church is going to improve the world, is the removal of everything that savours of unreality, pretence, and hypocrisy. The wicked scoff and good men are sick when it is announced—after Committees, Unions, Moderators, and other nabobs have settled everything—that there is to be a Church meeting to ask Divine guidance in regard to a call to a pastorate. The scoffing becomes ribald and the sickness violent when a minister announces that he is going to take a fortnight to consider a call which all his friends, and quite likely the deacons of the inviting church, know that he is going to accept.

It will not do. It takes many years' solid work by a man and church to remove the nasty taste this leaves, to recover the ground lost by unrealities and sophistries—this is putting it mildly—of this kind.

The same applies to our prayers, and not least our public prayers. " Lord, teach us how to pray " is a petition those who have to offer public prayers ought to offer with fervent supplication three times a day. How long will it take us to discover that we shall not be heard for our much speaking, and to learn to pray as though we were praying to God and not to a congregation? George Fox might well be a model for twentieth century Christians: William Penn spoke of " the fewness and fullness of his words."

* * *

THE article " On Life and Books " is omitted this quarter to make room for the Carlyle letter. Our October number, while retaining the

usual features, will be a special "Oxford Conference" number, with an impression of the Conference and several of the addresses. The price to subscribers will be unaltered, to non-subscribers, 3s. 6d. Readers who desire extra copies should order beforehand to make sure of securing them. The present number is also enlarged, the pressure on our review pages being very heavy.

* * *

On the day we go to press news comes of the honour conferred on Dr. J. D. Jones by the King. We heartily congratulate the new Companion of Honour and the people to whom he ministers. All Congregationalists feel that they have a share in the distinction that has come to one who has served the denomination in season and out of season with great devotion for so many years.

* * *

A CORRESPONDENT writes :—

The announcement that a Committee of British scholars has been formed to prepare a new edition of the Greek New Testament, with a full critical apparatus brought up-to-date, has been warmly welcomed by all students of the text of the N.T. There is promise already of American co-operation. We cannot fail to notice, however, that the Committee consists exclusively of Anglicans, with the welcome exception of Professor Souter, of Aberdeen, a Congregationalist whose work on the New Testament has been such that it would be quite impossible for an enterprise of this kind to be begun without him. But are there no other Free Church scholars of a competence equal to that of some others of the Committee? The name of Dr. Rendel Harris suggests itself at once. Is there among living experts a textual critic at once so brilliant, so devoted, so learned? Presumably all the Committee will be prepared to answer the question which Burgon proposed to Westcott: "How many ancient MSS. of the N.T. have you personally collated?"

The Committee, we note, has already decided to adopt Westcott and Hort's text as its basis. Some such standard was, of course, inevitable, but since the publication of Westcott and Hort's memorable edition in 1881 the trend of N.T. scholarship has been in some not unimportant points increasingly diverging from their conclusions.

THE TEACHING OF JESUS CONCERNING THE FUTURE LIFE.¹

THERE can be little doubt that one of the great needs of the Christian Church to-day is a reconstruction of its faith in the future life. It is said that Hegel, though he was a firm believer in the immortality of the soul, drew up his philosophical system without the slightest reference to this article of his creed. Hegel is a symbol of most of us in modern times. We have ceased to live *sub specie eternitatis*. And yet it is only a generation since George Eliot levelled against the Christian Church the charge of otherworldliness and urged that it lived with its head in the clouds, absorbed in the vision of the golden streets of the New Jerusalem and altogether oblivious of the needs of the present world. Modern Christianity took the taunt of George Eliot very much to heart. It turned its gaze from heaven to earth. Hell was blotted out of its vocabulary and heaven became for many people a vague *terra incognita*—almost as formless and void as the Hebrew *Sheol*. If Dante were reincarnated in the modern world and baptized into the spirit of the age the theme of his immortal poem might very well have been a Utopia : it is inconceivable that he would write a *Paradiso* or an *Inferno*. It seems quite certain that we could not have written the great Christian hymns of the future life if we had not inherited them from the past and many of them sound strangely unreal when they proceed from modern lips. We sing with Tennyson

Thou wilt not leave us in the dust
Thou madest man, he knows not why,
He thinks he was not made to die,
And Thou hast made him—Thou art just.

Though there is faith in words like these, it is faith set in the minor key. It is not a faith that satisfies. It is a faith that gropes its way in the dim twilight if haply it may lay hold on eternal life—not a faith that marches with head erect in the full sunlight of confident assurance to a triumphant goal.

And it is because the eschatology of the Church lies to-day between two worlds—"one dead—one powerless to be born" that multitudes of men and women are seeking from other sources the help and guidance which it cannot, or at any rate does not, give. It is the default of the Church that makes recourse to psychical research so popular to-day. The thirst for some sure token of the survival of the soul after death is ineradicable in the human mind, and if the Church speaks in halting or discordant tones people will inevitably go elsewhere in their quest.

¹ The Drew Lecture.

for some clear proof of immortality. It has always been so. When the old pagan faiths of Greece and Rome crumbled to pieces, when great Pan was dead, the Mystery Religions arose, and men and women went to them in shoals—because they held out the promise of the hope of an after life. History has simply repeated itself in these latter days.

The old eschatology of the Christian Church is dead. It deserved to die. It could only live in the atmosphere of a narrow and rigid Calvinism whose conception of God was not unlike the portrait of Nebuchadnezzar in the book of Daniel—"Whom he would he slew and whom he would he saved alive." It cannot be resuscitated. The faith of to-day could not tolerate it for a moment. But faith cannot live without an eschatology; and it is one of the supreme tasks of the hour to attempt to lay down the fundamental principles of a new eschatology which shall be consonant with all that is best in modern thought and yet shall have all the confidence and assurance which characterized the faith of the past.

It will be generally admitted that a Christian eschatology must be based primarily upon the teaching of Jesus, and that it is to Him we must turn for guidance and inspiration in our work of reconstruction. While it is possible to gain help and illumination from every honest investigation of the subject from Plato down to Sir Oliver Lodge, yet it is to Jesus we must always go as our ultimate authority in matters of faith and doctrine.

What then are the data which we can obtain from the teaching of Jesus as a basis for the task that lies before us? Now it is not as easy as a casual reader of the Gospels would suppose to obtain an answer to this question: there are many difficulties which we must overcome before we can feel that our feet are resting upon sure ground.

The first difficulty we have to face is the comparative reticence of Jesus on the subject of the future life. The Fourth Gospel makes Jesus apologize for this reticence. "In my Father's house are many mansions. If it were not so I would have told you." We look in vain in the Gospels for any description of Heaven or of Hell comparable to what we find in Homer or Plato or Virgil or Jewish Apocalyptic or the Apocalypse of Peter or Dante or in many forms of Christian art. This reticence is all the more remarkable when we remember that the whole world in the time of Jesus was obsessed as it had never been before in the whole course of its history by the problems of eschatology. No one can read the Jewish literature of the last two centuries B.C. without seeing how keen was the interest displayed in the doctrine of the future life and how many were the theories which were put forward by different writers as to its nature and character. The conceptions of Heaven and Hell which in later times dominated Christian thought were in all their essential features the creation of this period. The rise and development of the Greek Mysteries prove that the same interest was equally keen and vivid in the Græco-Roman world. The amazing thing is that in

face of this vortex of discussion Jesus kept comparative silence and refused to be drawn into the debate.

The second difficulty that confronts is the fact that throughout the Gospels Jesus speaks in terms of the Kingdom rather than in terms of the future life. The dominant idea in the teaching of Jesus is undoubtedly the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth—the creation of an ideal human society in which the will of God shall be done on earth as perfectly as it is done in Heaven. The thought of Jesus, especially as it is recorded in the Synoptists, revolves round the setting up of this Kingdom, and is mainly concerned with its nature and the character of its citizens, the conditions of entrance into it and the grounds upon which men are excluded from its joys and glory. Now it may be asserted with every degree of confidence that the same principles which govern the establishment of an ideal society on the plane of earth govern also the entrance into the larger life of Heaven. The very phrases that are used—"The Kingdom of Heaven"—or "The Kingdom of God"—show the essential community of ideas involved in the two conceptions. You cannot have two moral codes or two standards of righteousness, one for earth and the other for Heaven. Whether the future life is to be spent in an earthly Utopia or in Heaven, the tests by which a man is judged worthy of a place in either realm must inevitably be the same.

But it does not follow from this that the conditions in all these details must necessarily be identical. For instance, we are at any rate entitled to ask the question whether exclusion from the earthly Kingdom means absolute and final exclusion from a future life in Heaven? There, too, the doctrine of the resurrection as it appears in the N.T. (whatever may be its ultimate value for Christian faith) is much more relevant to the earthly Kingdom than it is to the future life. Directly the conception of a Kingdom of saints on earth entered into Hebrew belief the question was at once asked, What will be the fate of the good men who died before the Kingdom was established? Will they lose their chance of a share in the final triumph? And when the issue was raised faith could only give one reply to it. No: it is unthinkable to suppose that they will miss the prize: they will be raised to life again in order that they may have a place in the Kingdom. When the emphasis was shifted from an earthly Kingdom to a future life in Heaven, the doctrine of the resurrection, as Paul found, had to be modified to suit the new conception. We must be careful, therefore, not to assume that everything which is said about the Kingdom on earth is necessarily applicable to the future life in Heaven.

A further difficulty is connected with the fact that we cannot always be sure that we possess the actual words which Jesus used. It is remarkable¹ that at the crucial points of the discussion the language

¹ More remarkable I think in the case of eschatology than in the case of any other theme upon which Jesus spoke.

of the different Evangelists varies, and we are faced by the problem of having to choose between the different records. This applies particularly to the statements of Jesus about the punishment of the wicked. *Matthew* is the stronghold of the doctrine of eternal punishment. There are passages in *Mark* and *Luke* that imply this belief, but they are far fewer in number, and much less vivid and strong than they are in *Matthew*. There can be little doubt that *Matthew* has gone out of his way to intensify the teaching of Jesus upon this point. There are seven references to Hell (Gehenna) in *Matthew* against one in *Mark* and one in *Luke*. The word "eternal" is never used by *Luke* of future punishment and is found only once in *Mark*, while in *Matthew* the term is introduced on four occasions. When we compare the parable of the Pounds in *Luke* and the parable of the Talents in *Matthew* we find that the first ends on the note, "Take the pound from him and give it to him that hath the ten pounds"—a perfectly natural ending—while *Matthew* adds the words, "Cast ye out the unprofitable servant into the outer darkness, there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth"—a doom which seems altogether extravagant compared with the crime. We are compelled, therefore, to face the question, Has *Luke* softened down the teaching of Jesus or has *Matthew* intensified it? There can be little doubt that the second alternative is correct. And in the light of this evidence we are entitled to argue that the words in which *Matthew* summarizes the teaching of the parable of the great assize, "These shall go away into eternal punishment, but the righteous into eternal life," are also an editorial addition. At any rate there is no escape from the variations in the evidence which constitute our third difficulty—and we have no right to assume that every saying attributed to Jesus by the evangelists is necessarily genuine.

But there is still a fourth difficulty which we must surmount if we are to succeed in our task. Much of the terminology which Jesus uses in His references to the future life according to the report of His sayings in the Evangelists is simply the conventional language of His time. During the intermediate period between the Old and New Testaments—which was really the creative period for the development of eschatology—a new set of terms had come into existence and passed into common speech. Most of them are mere metaphors. Gehenna, for instance, is simply the valley of Hinnom—where the dead bodies of criminals and the refuse of Jerusalem were burned—transferred to another plane. The "outer darkness" is merely a phrase which symbolizes exclusion from the joy and brightness of the banqueting-hall. In evolving the phraseology of the future life the Jewish Apocalyptic writers were bound to interpret the unknown in terms of the known and to make use of the best illustration available in the language of the time. Much of the language which Jesus is said to have used on the question of the after life—most of it in fact—is not of His own making. He simply uses the current coinage of His age. As far

as the terms are concerned there is scarcely a new word or even a new idea used by Jesus in His actual eschatological utterances. He employs the metaphors which were in common use at the time. The crime which the old eschatology committed consisted in regarding the conventional language which Jesus was compelled to use as His own great contribution to the subject, and partly in turning poetry into prose and hardening metaphor into dogma. The vale of Hinnom may have been a very good metaphor for describing the place where the wicked are to be punished, but it is only a metaphor after all and must be treated as a metaphor. To take it literally, and to regard it as a microcosm of the scene of future punishment—and that is how it had come to be taken in the days of Christ—is to provide another illustration of the truth of the great saying of St. Paul, "The letter killeth but the spirit giveth life." It is not, it cannot be too emphatically urged, what Jesus has in common with the eschatological language and thought of His time that constitutes the substance of His revelation on the future life. It is rather in the words He utters on rare occasions which do not reflect the vocabulary of His age and which even come into conflict with much of the current conventional eschatology that the truth of His own great message is to be found.

A critical examination of the data at our disposal in the Gospels leads us to the following conclusions.

A strong and invincible belief in the future life is the postulate of the whole of the teaching of Jesus. To Him the conviction of immortality is axiomatic. There is no doubt or hesitation about it at all. He never—except on one solitary occasion—argues about it. Addison can say of the argument of the *Phaedo* :

It must be so—Plato, thou reasonest well.
Else whence this pleasing hope, this fond desire,
This longing after immortality ?

But we cannot use words like these about the teaching of Jesus on the future life. He speaks with authority. Plato talks like a scribe. He speaks about the life to come as He speaks about God. You may search the Gospels in vain for any trace of the Theistic proofs. Jesus knows nothing of the great arguments—the cosmological, the teleological, the ontological—by which later apologists sought to demonstrate the existence of God. He speaks out of His own instinctive knowledge, both about the nature of God and the nature of the future life. The only occasion when He ventures upon an argument about the life to come is in reply to the question of the Sadducees about the resurrection (*Mk.* 12^{26, f}) : "As touching the dead, that they are raised ; have ye not read in the book of Moses, in the place concerning the Bush, how God spake unto him saying, 'I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob.' He is not the God of the dead but of the living." An appeal to the Pentateuch does not

seem to us to-day to be very convincing, whatever it may have been in the first century. And yet as Canon Streeter has said¹: "It is much more than an *argumentum ad hominem*. To say that God is the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob is to say that He is a God Who sets a supreme value on individual persons and it is argued that the fact that God so values them is a guarantee that He cannot allow them to perish. It is essentially an argument from the character of God: and its point and cogency lies in the assertion that belief in immortality is a necessary deduction and consequence of a right belief in God."

Whether Canon Streeter's exegesis of this particular passage is sound or not may be a matter of opinion, but there can be no question at all that a belief in immortality is necessarily implied in the teaching of Jesus about God and man. How could Jesus have believed in the infinite love of God for the sons of men without also believing in an eternal destiny for the human soul? How could He have believed in the infinite worth of each individual life? How could He have said that it is not the will of God that one of these little ones should perish—unless He had also believed that death was not the final end of things and that man is not like the beasts that perish? The words that Jesus spoke about immortality may be few, but the doctrine is woven into the whole fabric of His thought and teaching, and without it the rest of His theology would be robbed of more than half its value. It is the postulate—the fundamental assumption—upon which all that He said about God and man depends. It was no meaningless phrase when a later writer asserted that Jesus "abolished death and brought life and immortality to light."

Apart from the revelation of Christ the belief in immortality could not by the very nature of the case be more than a sublime hypothesis—an act of faith that leaps over the barriers that limit the progress of human reason. The feeling of the inadequacy of human reasoning to attain to certainty is present even in the *Phaedo* of Plato²: at a point in the discussion when a particular line of proof is shown to have failed in its demonstration, one of the interlocutors says: "Well then, all that we can do is to take the best and most unanswerable arguments that we can find and use them as a kind of raft to carry us through the perils of the sea of life, till some word of god affords us a surer basis for our faith." That cry—Messianic in its intensity—for some authoritative word of God to set all doubts at rest was answered by Jesus, Who in His teaching and in His resurrection gave the world a sure token of the life to come and transformed for Christians at any rate the sublime hypothesis into a glorious certainty.

But what has Jesus to tell us about the content of the Christian hope? What does the life to come mean upon His lips? The classic description of the heavenly life is given in *John* 14, the passage which has brought greater comfort to timid and sorrowful souls throughout

¹ *Immortality*, p. 79.

² 85 C.D.

the centuries than any other passage in the Bible. "In my Father's House are many mansions. . . . I go to prepare a place for you that where I am ye may be also. And if I go and prepare a place for you I will come again and receive you to myself." If it be objected that at this time of the day, in the light of the critical discussion of the sources, it is unscientific to quote as authentic a saying of Jesus which is only found in the Fourth Gospel, my answer is that of Matthew Arnold. The sayings of Jesus in the supper table discourses "cannot in the main be the writer's, because in the main they are quite beyond his reach." It seems to me that Matthew Arnold's argument is unassailable. We have in 1 *John* ample material for a psychological study of the mind of the writer of the Fourth Gospel. We know all about his mental outlook and his theological position. His method and manner of thought are an open book to us. We know that there are many things attributed to Jesus in the discourses of the Fourth Gospel which he could have written—and probably did write—out of his own inner consciousness. But we also know that there are other things which by no stretch of imagination can be supposed to be the creation of his own intellect—and among these not the least important is the opening paragraph of the fourteenth chapter. There is no indication at all in the Epistle that he could himself have risen to the heights of the great words he ascribes to Jesus. His conception of the future life is set in a different key. He can write the words, "Beloved now are we the children of God and it doth not yet appear what we shall be. We know that if he be manifested we shall be like him for we shall see him face to face": but it would have been quite beyond his capacity to have invented the great utterance, "In my Father's house are many mansions. I go to prepare a place for you."

The first thing that strikes us about these words of Jesus is their remarkable simplicity. There is no trace of the complex idea of the seven heavens so familiar to Jewish thought. There is no hint of the gorgeous vision of the eternal city which filled the mind of the author of *Revelation*, with its golden streets and its jasper walls and its gates of precious stone. There is nothing to suggest the description of Heaven which is given in the *Apocalypse of Peter*—"a great space shining with brilliant light and blooming with unfading flowers and full of spices and sweet smelling plants, incorruptible and bearing a blessed fruit and a perfume that spread far beyond the boundaries of the land." Jesus paints no elaborate picture of Heaven—but by a single stroke of the pen he gives us a much more satisfying conception of it than we can find in the luscious visions of the Apocalyptists and the imaginative art of medieval painters. Heaven to Jesus is the Father's house—"The Father's house"! There is a divine simplicity about the phrase—and yet it is infinitely more eloquent than the luxuriant word-painting in which lesser minds have always indulged when they came to speak of Heaven. The future life is, as the Apostle Paul once put it, "to be

home with God." And lest it be felt that translation to so sublime a sphere, even though it be the Father's house, may be strange and startling to the soul, Jesus adds the words, "I go to prepare a place for you." The new environment is adjusted to the needs of the individual soul. Each will be assigned the position in which he will feel most at home with God.

And this brings me to the next point. In the conception of Jesus there is an absolute continuity between this life and the next. Whatever transformation may take place in our passage to the eternal world will not destroy the identity of our personality. What will live after death is not some shadowy ghost or some weird spectral phantom. What will enter into the life of the other world will be the personality which we have made for ourselves in the life that now is. The Fourth Gospel is quite right when it regards eternal life as a present fact. "He that believeth on me hath everlasting life. . . . He that hath the son hath life. . . . This is eternal life that they may know thee the only true God, and Him whom thou didst send even Jesus Christ." The Fourth Gospel is only making explicit what is implicit in the teaching of the Synoptics. Even Aristotle feels that immortality must begin here and now. In a famous passage in the *Nicomachean Ethics*¹ he writes: "If then reason be divine compared with human nature, so too the life which consists in the exercise of reason will also be divine in comparison with ordinary human life. Therefore instead of listening to those who urge us as men and mortals not to lift our thoughts above what is human and mortal, we ought as far as is possible to us to live as the immortals and act in accordance with the highest principle we possess." Aristotle's advice that we should "practise immortality" or live the immortal life on earth is entirely consonant with the teaching of Jesus. There can be no dualism between the life on earth and the life in Heaven. The life in Heaven will be the fruition and the reward of life on the plane of earth. The main point of difference between Jesus and Aristotle would, I think, be this. To Aristotle it is only the rational principle, the thinking part, of man that survives death; to Jesus it is the whole personality. The immortal soul to Aristotle is that element in man that thinks and reasons; to Jesus it is the whole self, the self that feels and wills and loves as well as reasons. Eternal life to Aristotle is the sublimation of mind and thought; to Jesus it is the sublimation of all that is best and noblest in human life. Heaven to Aristotle is a kind of celestial University in which those who have acquitted themselves well in the schools of earth will take a post-Graduate course of eternal duration; to Jesus it is a home which provides opportunity for the development of those moral capacities which constitute the highest part of human personality.

It follows from what has been said that there are different planes of life in Heaven as there are on earth. If we are to begin the next life

¹ x.7.8.

very much at the point at which we leave this life—and that is a necessary assumption if we are to maintain the identity of personality—it is quite clear that we are weaving at the looms of time the garment which we shall wear when we enter on the life of Heaven. Time after time in His teaching Jesus emphasizes the fact that the present determines our destiny. He urges men to “lay up for themselves treasure in Heaven.” He says of certain types of conduct and of men that “great will be their reward in Heaven.” He condemns imprudence and lack of foresight in the sons of light as compared with the farseeing policy of the Unjust Steward and bids them “Make yourselves friends from the mammon of unrighteousness that when it fails they may receive you into the eternal habitations.” He denounces those who live without a thought of the eternal world. And yet with all His talk about rewards Jesus is careful to teach us that Heaven is the gift of God’s grace and cannot be earned by the works of men. That is the meaning of the parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard who all, irrespective of the length of their service, receive at the end of the day the same reward. This parable does not cancel all that Jesus says in other places about “the treasure in Heaven.” It is only intended to show that human merit is not the main factor that secures the Heavenly reward.

Merit lives from man to man
And not from man, O God, to Thee.

“Salvation,” as Dr. Fairbairn used to put it, “is always of grace and reward is of works.” There must inevitably be at the Heavenly judgment a great reversal of human verdicts. “The last will be first and the first will be last.” The record of the history of the Church as it is written in the books of Heaven will read very differently from the narrative to which we are accustomed. Some of the great names which are blazoned on the pages of our story may occupy a very lowly place in the final narrative, and many a nameless unremembered saint will receive the meed of praise that the purblind historians of earth have denied to him.

It has been said that it is not what the teaching of Jesus contains in common with conventional eschatology of His age that constitutes His real contribution to the doctrine of the future life—it is rather when He breaks loose from the current ideas and phraseology of His times that He illuminates most clearly the character of the Heavenly life. Another of these few original utterances is found in the words in the parable of the Talents addressed by the Master to the servants who have proved worthy of their trust: “Well done, good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful over a few things; I will set thee over many things; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.” It is not so much the words of congratulation and the promotion to tasks of higher responsibility that constitute the real significance of the words: it is rather the final clause—“Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.” The word used is—

not *happiness*. That there will be happiness in the life of Heaven goes without saying. But *joy* is a different and a greater thing. The distinction in the meaning of the two words has been well brought out by the French philosopher, Bergson. "Happiness," he says, "is the response of the soul to a congenial environment. . . . Joy is the symbol of creation. . . . Where joy is creation must have been. . . . Nature has set up a sign which apprizes us every time our activity is in full expansion. This sign is joy. True joy is always an emphatic signal of the triumph of life. Wherever joy is creation has been and the richer the creation the greater the joy." If Bergson is right Heaven will be the sphere not merely of activity but of creative work. And it will be creative work of the highest order—"the joy of the Lord." The joy of Jesus was supreme because He had achieved the greatest of all creative works—the redemption of mankind. And into the joy of that high purpose the Christian will enter in the Heavenly life. And all the faltering efforts of our present life, "the high that proved too high—the heroic for earth too hard" will be translated into the perfect realization of Heaven.

It is not easy for us, engrossed and absorbed as we are in the pursuits which are imposed upon us by the conditions of life on the plane of earth, to form any conception of the work that lies before us in the other world. We are compelled to toil now in the interest of physical life and well being. Much of our strength is spent in labouring for the meat that perisheth. It almost passes our comprehension to imagine a world where we shall be emancipated from the struggle for physical existence and set free for the higher tasks of the spiritual life. For Jesus has left us in no doubt that the life of the world to come will be entirely spiritual. In answer to the problem which the Sadducees put to Him as a *reductio ad absurdum* of all belief in a future life, Jesus said with the utmost emphasis, "Ye do err, not knowing the scripture, nor the power of God. For in the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels in heaven." It is notable that in this passage Jesus uses the idea of resurrection. Apart from the parallel passages in the other Synoptic Gospels the only other reference to the resurrection in the Synoptic record occurs in *Luke 14*¹⁴, "Thou shalt be recompensed in the resurrection of the just." These allusions are not sufficient to prove that Jesus held the view of the resurrection depicted in *Revelation*: "And the sea gave up the dead which were in it and death and Hades gave up the dead that were in them and they were judged every man according to their works." There is, of course, the strange passage in *John 5*: "The hour cometh in which all that are in the tombs shall hear his voice and shall come forth, they that have done good unto the resurrection of life and they that have done ill unto the resurrection of judgment." But that passage is so diametrically opposed to the spirit and teaching of the Fourth Gospel and finds so little to support it in the other records

of the teaching of Jesus—that an increasing number of modern scholars regard it as an interpolation and deny that it represents the position of Jesus at all. The whole tenor of the teaching of Jesus is dead against the theory that death is followed by a long sleep in an attenuated life in Hades, until the last trumpet sounds. Lazarus in the parable goes at once to Abraham's bosom, and Dives is taken immediately to his doom in Hades. Jesus says to the dying thief upon the cross, "Thou shalt be with me in Paradise." St. Paul in earlier days when he was writing *1 Thess.* seems to have held the belief that death was followed by a sleep till the second coming of Christ, but he soon found such an idea to be intolerable, and he had the courage to abandon his first view and declare that "to be absent from the body is to be present with the Lord." There is no real justification in the teaching of Jesus for the picture of the resurrection drawn in *Revelation*, and it is a great pity that that Book should ever have been allowed to cast its fell shadow over the Christian hope, for in this matter as in some others it represents the triumph of Jewish Apocalyptic over the Christian faith and not the triumph of the Christian faith over Jewish Apocalyptic. It cannot be said too emphatically that it is impossible to extract a uniform eschatology out of the pages of the *N.T.*, and when it comes to a clash between the teaching of Jesus and the teaching of *Revelation*, the Christian theologian has no choice open to him but to accept the authority of the Master rather than that of one of his later disciples—a disciple who learnt far more from Jewish Apocalyptic than he did from Christ Himself. The time has come when it ought to be said quite frankly that there are some elements in the *N.T.*—in *1 Thess.* and in *Revelation* for instance—which are quite out of harmony with the spirit of the teaching of Jesus, and which ought not to be regarded as a true expression of the Christian hope.

But what of the other side of the problem? What of the fate of the wicked? There is nothing in the *N.T.* to justify the facile optimism of the modern world. On the other hand there is a sternness, a moral severity, about the teaching of Jesus which is often overlooked and which we have allowed to be submerged in the sense of the love and gentleness and pity of the Christ. "How different," says Thomas Carlyle, "is the honeymouthed tear-stained Jesus of the modern Christian from the stern-visaged Christ of the Gospels proclaiming aloud in the market-place, 'Woe unto you scribes and Pharisees; hypocrites!'" Jesus is wonderfully pitiful. "The bruised reed he will not break, the smoking flax he will not quench"; but he is also terribly stern. "Whosoever shall cause one of these little ones that believe on me to stumble, it were better for him that a great millstone were hanged about his neck and he were cast into the sea. And if thy hand cause thee to stumble cut it off and cast it from thee, it is good for thee to enter into life maimed rather than having two hands to go into hell—into the unquenchable fire."

Into the details of the discussion about the meaning of these terrible sayings it is impossible for us to enter now. All that can be said is that when we have eliminated from the Gospels the passages which individual evangelists—especially *Matthew*—may have added on their own authority to the record of the teaching of Jesus ; when we have taken the word *aiwvios* (which is generally translated eternal) and proved from its derivation and its usage in the literature of the time that it does not necessarily mean “ everlasting ” ; when we have weighed the possibility that some of these sayings may refer only to the earthly kingdom and not to the future life ; when we have tried to lay bare the meaning of the metaphorical terms that Jesus uses and have translated them from the realm of the physical to the realm of the spiritual—there are still two statements that cannot lightly be explained away. There is first of all the statement about the unforgivable sin, the sin which cannot be pardoned in this world or the next. This cannot be an interpolation by an individual Evangelist, since it is one of the best authenticated sayings of Jesus in the Gospels, being found in the original source of *Matthew* and *Luke* which is generally known as Q and also in *Mark*. There is one crumb of comfort that can be obtained from the passage. If there is one sin that cannot be pardoned in this world or the next we are entitled to draw the inference that there are other sins which may be pardoned in the after life. But the main statement itself is very difficult to explain away. And yet if there ever was a sin against the Holy Spirit it was the sin of the men who caused Jesus to be crucified. It is difficult to imagine a more heinous form of this sin than the tragic miscarriage of justice which led to the death upon the Cross. And yet Jesus prays for the men who compassed His death, “ Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.” If that sin could be forgiven—and Jesus obviously thought it could—it is difficult to conceive of any sin which is beyond the scope of the grace of God.

The other passage is in the parable of Dives and Lazarus. When Dives in the anguish of Hades prays, “ Father Abraham, have mercy on me and send Lazarus that he may dip the tip of his finger in water and cool my tongue, for I am in anguish in this flame,” Abraham replies, “ Son, remember that in thy lifetime thou receivest the good things and Lazarus the evil things—and beside all this, between us and you there is a great gulf fixed that they which would pass from us to you may not be able, and that none may cross over from you to us.” The statement about the impassable gulf that divides Heaven from Hell seems quite definite and absolute, and we cannot cavalierly put it on one side on the ground that the details of the story of the parable must never be pressed, because it seems to be an essential fact in the illustration. And yet if we are to believe the statement of *1 Peter* which became an article in the creed of the Catholic Church, that impassable gulf was bridged by Christ Himself, Who after His death went and preached to “ the spirits in prison.” If the faith of the Church is

right—if that gulf was bridged by Christ—it is no longer impassable. If in the light of some of the recorded sayings of Jesus we ask with one of the disciples, “Who then can be saved?”, the answer comes, “With men it is impossible but not with God, for all things are possible with God.” It is on that phrase—“All things are possible with God”—that our faith in the final victory of God must ultimately rest, especially when we link it up with *Luke’s* description of the good shepherd who goes after the lost sheep *until* he finds it. But it must be repeated there is no ground at all in the teaching of Jesus for the complacent and facile optimism so prevalent to-day—that optimism which so light-heartedly asserts that God is very good and very merciful and no matter what the character of our life on earth may be, all will come right at the last. At long last, yes, we trust it may—for we pin our faith to the belief that in the final issue not one life “will be cast as rubbish to the heap.” But long last is an eternity away. To suppose that love makes God morally indifferent to what we have been and what we have done on earth is a travesty of the New Testament faith. It has been said of our present life that “when youth is a blunder, manhood is a struggle and old age is a regret.” A misspent youth handicaps a man’s whole career and makes success, if not impossible, at any rate desperately difficult. And the misspent life on earth must inevitably mean tragedy in the life to come—a tragedy of sorrow and anguish of soul—and desperate efforts after repentance and purification of heart without which no one can ever behold the vision of God. Now the moral we must draw from the teaching of Jesus is not the moral of optimistic complacency; it is rather the moral that Paul drew. “I have suffered the loss of all things and count them but refuse that I may gain Christ and be found in Him . . . if by any means I may attain unto the resurrection of the dead.”

H. T. ANDREWS.

WILLIAM WATSON'S POETRY.

THE opening years of the present century saw a certain flouting of the great English tradition in poetry, chiefly on the part of young writers, who practised writing, on the one hand, what may be called verses of the conversational word and the every-day subject, and, on the other hand, what is called *vers libre*, which forms in literature a conjunction of prose and verse resembling a "Free Love" union in life—and almost as respectable. These writers so far influenced the reading public with their professed aims and views that, if they did not carry it with them, they caused some relaxation of the regard for tradition. And a consequence of this has been a partial eclipse of the reputation and accomplishment of Sir William Watson. His latest volume, *Poems Brief and New*, appeared a few months ago, and the present is perhaps a fit occasion for some general consideration of his work.

There is no question but that Watson's poetry falls within the scope of the English tradition: the pronouncedly traditional element of it has been stigmatized by some critics as tantamount to a livery of servitude. The ideal of poetry that he has consistently striven for does not admit of "incurable (or curable) sloppiness" of thought, or of slipshod expression. He believes that form should be as perfect as possible, and his belief is expressed not only by precept but by unsparing example. No poet has ever had a loftier sense of his calling, or been more faithful to that sense. This attitude of his towards poetry may indeed have suggested a certain aloofness which for old friend the man in the street, failing to understand, somewhat regrets. But there is no real aloofness. The poet is very much concerned with men and the affairs of men. He knows, however, that there is something beyond men and men's immediate affairs. It is with him a habit to present the finite in a setting of the infinite; the human in its relation to the superhuman or the divine. It may well be that, in so doing, he invests the setting and the relationship—unconsciously realized by many people—with so impressive a significance that they overbear in effect his treatment of the purely human element; and some colour is thus given to the charge of aloofness. It is just here, really, that we meet the poet whose work we are discussing in a purpose and achievement peculiarly his own, and of great value. In these days of self-sufficiency the difficulty of realizing that there is something grander or sublimer than ourselves is a real menace to true progress. It has been one of Watson's chief distinctions that he has done so much to reclaim derelict ideas of the grand and the sublime. Altitudes of people, if indeed aware that grandeur and sublimity

exist, are no more capable of recognizing them than was the young lady who, introduced to one of the wildest and most towering prospects in Scotland, remarked that it was "very nice." In recent poetry there is plenty of mere prettiness, a good deal of the sort of realism which calls a spade a "bloody shovel", and no small proportion of pure fancy beautiful enough. Without the achievement of William Watson the finely imaginative element would have been meagre; but his achievement enlarged it into opulence. No English poet since Milton has so magnificently presented such august conceptions of the superhuman and (shall we say?) the super-physical. The later poet, indeed, availing himself of the scientific knowledge of the later age, has been able to employ it in the expression of conceptions which, exhibited in manner worthy of them, have out-Milton'd his great forerunner by getting nearer to truth, and therefore to the ultimate sublime. He is remarkable for the sweep of his thought, which ranges freely and without strain through the known creation to touch at many points the mystery of the unknown. Now to

Kingdoms that Silence hath inherited
From Silence

he adventures, to

. . . a region of the skies
That from the gaze of men is hidden, and lies
Outside the lore that can bewitch our ears
With the proud epic of the stars' careers.

Of course the employment of the grand manner on appropriate subjects carries with it a certain danger that he has not wholly escaped. Now and then he has worn the regalia on occasions when the mode could hardly have been pronounced *de rigueur*. But, on the other hand, how often he has worn that regalia with superb effect! A state ceremony should be a fit occasion for stately ceremonial, not less in the language of it than in the rites and trappings, and his "Ode on the Day of the Coronation of King Edward VII," for example, triumphantly vindicates the use of verbal pomp in such a connexion:

Lo, at the Earth's high feast, ere Autumn bring
His afterthoughts of greatness to her ear,
And with monitions of mortality
Perturb the revelling year,
Thou goest forth and art anointed King.
Nature disdains not braveries: why should we
The sombre foil of all her splendours be?

And high on Druid mountains hath the sun
Flamed valediction.

The thought from time to time expressed by the poet on problems of life and mysteries of death is profoundly interesting. His early work suggested at times a pantheistic attitude, at times an agnostic

Unmeet to be profaned by praise
 Is he whose coils the world enfold ;
 The God on whom I ever gaze,
 The God I never once behold :
 Above the cloud, beneath the clod ;
 The Unknown God, the Unknown God.

and again a stoical, not remote from that of Henley in *Invictus* :

I ask the unpampering breath
 That fits me to endure
 Chance, and my doom obscure.

Who know not whence I am sped, nor to what port I sail.

But some of his later poems breathe a different spirit, beautifully exhibited in the tender, simple poems inspired by his two young children, and in "Whither Afar?" And whatever belief, whatever incredulity, he has professed, he has never faltered in his quest for truth. Nor has he ever harboured, much less indulged, the suggestion heralded as a discovery by certain of his contemporaries, that truth's habitat is a perfumed bath, not a well. As he sings in his dignified and moving "Apologia" :

I too with constant heart,
 And with no light or careless ministry,
 Have served what seemed the Voice ; and unprofane,
 Have dedicated to melodious ends
 All of myself that least ignoble was.
 For though of faulty and of erring walk,
 I have not suffered aught in me of frail
 To blur my song ; I have not paid the world
 The evil and the insolent courtesy
 Of offering it my baseness for a gift.

Rhetoric? Well, why not? Some critics have, indeed, discussed rhetoric and poetry with a sort of horror at the idea that the one should ever invade even the aura of the other. They may know why the two things are not compatible ; possibly their difficulty is in communicating the knowledge. Most of us will be content to reflect that much of what is recognized as great poetry is obviously rhetorical. The effectiveness of rhetoric as poetry is amply exemplified in Watson's work.

Of an outlook always humanitarian, he has given us such evidence as "The Purple East"—that series of blazing sonnets on the Armenian Massacres (regarded by some admirers as his finest work)—and those poems written during the Boer War, which also proved his unwavering courage by presenting opinions believed by him to be just, highly unpopular though they were. Among those last mentioned poems, there is the unforgettable one entitled "An Ideal Passion" :

Not she, the England I behold,
 My mistress is ; nor yet
 The England beautiful of old,
 Whom Englishmen forget.

The England of my heart is she,
 Long hoped and long deferred,
 That ever promises to be,
 And ever breaks her word.

Sir William Watson was, of course, a supporter of the national position in the European War; and though such of his poems in War-time as "The Man Who Saw" and "The Three Alfreds"—illustrating an independence of attitude not concerned to justify its consistency—challenge political dissent, others of them show no lack of his less political, more national qualities. He sings:

Had I that fabled herb
 Which brought to life the dead,
 Whom would I dare disturb
 In his eternal bed?
 Great Granville would I wake,
 And with glad tidings make
 The soul of mighty Drake
 Upheave a glorying head.

And of war-rage he says:

To that primeval passion may we yet
 Give ampler range, in fields of vaster marge.
 'Gainst War itself, when this war passes, let
 Our bugles sound a charge.

Undoubtedly he is "mannered": he would have been had he merely maintained undeveloped the manner of his earlier poems. There has been, however, a development; such a dotting of the i's and crossing of the t's, so to speak, of his earlier manner, as might naturally result from the consciousness of quest and attainment on a wide field of poetic endeavour. It is in such forms of poetry as the ode and the sonnet that he is most evidently mannered. Some of the more decisively lyrical poems might have been written by almost any other poet of sufficient quality. But the sonnets and the odes—even those which have, like the beautiful "Ode in May," a definitely lyrical setting—are each *sui generis* in a special sense, whether it be Milton, or Dryden, or Keats, or Tennyson, or any other traditional English poet from whom he is deemed to have "got the seed." A manner and a mannerism are not the same thing: the one is pertinent to self-expression, and the other (possibly in two senses) impertinent. It appears to follow, therefore, that the stronger the projection of a poet's manner upon his work, the more clearly and fully will his work represent that poetic endowment, which, in order to make it a reality, he must appropriate and exhibit.

On a more particular examination of the poems from a literary standpoint the temptation is to quote copiously, for that would be an obvious means of demonstrating their qualities. Since the publication of *The Prince's Quest*, a long romantic narrative in couplet rhyme, in 1880, the author has issued a number of volumes containing

ems in many different forms. *Wordsworth's Grave* (with its full ruffled lucent flow) and the tributes to Tennyson, Burns, Arnold and Shelley, stand in a distinctive class. Of these the Tennyson elegy—*Lacrime Musarum*—is well known and has been specially admired, both for matter and treatment. And in all these the author's faculty of acute literary criticism has free and felicitous play. "The Father of the Forest," a lengthy address to an "Old Emperor Yew," easy in style and metre, provides scope for the exercise of a vivid sense of history and is one of the most interesting of the poems. The "Hymn to the Sea," ever since its appearance in the *Yellow Book*, has afforded me constant delight. Has the hexameter in English ever had so splendid an illustration elsewhere? The elegiacs of this poem (unrhymed) are not quantitative, but accentual. To me the experiments of those who endeavour to graft the Latin hexameter quantitatively upon the stock of English poetry appear not only futile, but lamentable. Why should a language to which quantity is alien be subjected to pitiable contortions in the effort to exchange its own muscular anatomy for that of another language of which quantity forms the very sinews? The classical hexameter is admittedly a nobly musical medium of utterance. If the music and the roll of it can be reproduced in English verse by accent naturally, why attempt to arrive at a similar result by means that are unnatural? That it is possible to create English elegiacs to match the Latin in sonorous majesty (the relative vowel wealth being taken into account) let one or two quotations from the "Hymn to the Sea" attest:

Now while the vernal impulsion makes lyrical all that hath language,
 While, through the veins of the Earth, riots the ichor of Spring,
 While, amid throes, amid raptures, with loosing of bonds, with unsealings—
 Arrowy pangs of delight, piercing the core of the world,
 Tremors and coy unfoldings, reluctances, sweet agitations,
 Mouth, irrepressibly fair, wakes like a wondering rose.

When by the tempest are scattered magnificent ashes of Autumn;
 When, upon orchard and lane, breaks the white foam of the Spring;
 When, in extravagant revel, the Dawn, a bacchante upleaping,
 Pills, on the tresses of Night, vintages golden and red;
 When, as a token at parting, munificent Day, for remembrance
 Gives, unto men that forget, Ophirs of fabulous ore.

The imagery of this poem, as appears from these extracts, is on a scale of gorgeous and radiant lavishness. If there is in English literature a more magnificent image of the Dawn than that which flames out of the lines quoted above I do not know it.

* * * *

To the sonnets on public affairs reference has been made; but there are many other sonnets—including the series of seventeen "To Miranda"—by which their author's unchallengeable mastery of the sonnet form is illustrated. Take the one "To Aubrey de Vere":

Poet, whose grave and strenuous lyre is still
 For Truth and Duty strung; whose art eschews
 The lighter graces of the softer Muse,
 Disdainful of mere craftsman's idle skill;
 Yours is a soul from visionary hill
 Watching and hearkening for ethereal news,
 Looking beyond life's storms and death's cold dews
 To habitations of the eternal will.
 Not mine your mystic creed; not mine, in prayer
 And worship, at the ensanguined Cross to kneel;
 But when I mark your faith how pure and fair,
 How based on love, on passion for man's weal,
 My mind, half envying what it cannot share,
 Reverses the reverence which it cannot feel.

In some of the sonnets there is a brilliant allusiveness, a quality which indeed distinguishes many poems, enhancing the pleasure they give to a reader who is passably well read, and perhaps not strengthening the appeal to readers who are not.

The Superhuman Antagonists (of which the title is the least attractive part) is Watson's longest poem, next to *The Prince's Quest*. It reproduces the metre of the latter, but differs from it even more widely in texture and thought than might have been expected from the interval of nearly forty years between them. It was published in 1919, and on presenting it the author said: "I find myself once more dwelling in an atmosphere of romantic idealism akin to optimistic faith." The fundamental idea of the poem—the idea of a world ruled by two mutually hostile beings, Ormazd and Ahriman, the Good and the Evil Spirit—is borrowed from Persian mythology; but for the development of the idea—in which Ormazd, receiving a suggestion from Ahriman to divide the world into two equal parts, each absolutely ruled by one of the two Spirits, ultimately rejects that suggestion, and routs Ahriman—the poet is himself responsible. This poem has received not a tithe of the attention it deserves. Apart from the impressiveness of the narrative itself, the manner in which it is treated results in poetry of the highest order. Two short extracts from the poem have already been given—the first quotations in this article. Here is another:

Then did Ormazd stand
 Silent, the monstrous silence of the sky
 Dwarfed by his own. Fathomless was his eye,
 His face the cloister of his thoughts, his head
 A still, lone summit.

These passages will serve to suggest with what wealth, what splendour of equipage this adventure into the stellar immensities is made. The theme is one which only exceptional powers of poetic treatment could have preserved from banality, grotesqueness or absurdity; but in Watson's hands not only does it escape any such fate, but it is carried

with masterly ease and dignity into the territories of the august. Certainly no other living poet could have built on it an edifice so stately and so richly wrought. It is not flawless: here and there, as in the slight suggestion of the platform manner adopted by one of the "demigods," the lofty movement of the poem is for a moment endangered—but it is only for a moment.

It is a curious thing, but certainly a tribute to the imposing strength of this poet's work in other domains of poetry, that, though no small proportion of his verse is lyrical, and would in itself both in bulk and quality suffice to establish a high reputation, he is not commonly regarded as a lyrical poet. His habit of marshalling a phalanx of polysyllabic words to charge home with some spacious thought, has given occasion, but no warrant, for the criticism that he is too weighty to be lyrical. But he uses the simple words when he wants them in a manner possible to no writer who cannot at will skilfully command the more complex. Not only have lyrics of his been welcomed into many anthologies, but some of them, *e.g.*, the "Ode in May," "The Key-board," "Night," "April," and "The Lute Player," have become familiar to many people.¹

Besides the lyrics just mentioned and those which have already been referred to as illustrating other aspects of the poet's work, there are many beautiful ones, such as "The First Skylark of Spring," "The Protest," "Tell me not now," and "Leavetaking." I still remember the delight with which I read the "Skylark" poem on its first appearance (in *The Spectator*) and I find it no less delightful to-day. Set it beside any representative piece of present-day *vers libre*, and there will appear no particular reason why free verse should remain at large. "Leavetaking" is in my judgment as near perfection, alike in its form, its exquisite content, and its appeal to emotional imagination, as any lyric could well be. Let it be read here, and re-read—the oftener the better:

Pass, thou wild light,
Wild light on peaks that so
Grieve to let go
The day.
Lovely thy tarrying, lovely too is night:
Pass thou away.

Pass, thou wild heart,
Wild heart of youth that still
Hast half a will
To stay.
I grow too old a comrade, let us part.
Pass thou away.

¹ The "Ode in May" it may be remarked incidentally, was foully outraged not long ago in a daily newspaper by a parodist who, though a recognized expert in parody, apparently has yet to learn that there is a difference between the legitimate "taking off" of an author's manner, and the maltreatment of an exquisite lyric by merely altering a word or a line here and there to make a piece of folly.

A domain of poetry in which Watson's work has received wide acknowledgment is that of the pregnant line and the epigram. I can pack as much into a line as Pope could. While, however, Pope's fine lines are for the most part perfect vehicles of sense, and can be detached from their context as *obiter dicta*, the living poet's most memorable lines are enjoyed not only because in themselves they are lit with imagination or fancy, but also because they bring into their light the context, and make it memorable too :

"And idle is the rumour of the rose."

"Lords it o'er the abject sky."

"Veins of midnight flaw the morn" (of a raven's flight).

"Gather the night about their nakedness" (of mountains).

A thinker of wide culture, the poet is also the possessor of a wit rather profound than scintillant—though it does occasionally take the form of flashing satire—and this his mastery of language enables him to employ in the shaping of striking and individual epigrams. Who, having once read the lines, does not delight to recall

Forget not, brother singer ! that though prose
Can never be too truthful or too wise,
Song is not Truth, not Wisdom, but the rose
Upon Truth's lips, the light in Wisdom's eyes !

Not all the epigrams, of course, are equally successful, but they maintain a very high level. Take "From the French" :

Says Marmontel, The secret's mine
Of Racine's art-of-verse divine.
To do thee justice, Marmontel,
Never was secret kept so well.

or this :

Think not thy wisdom can illume away
The ancient tanglement of night and day.
Enough, to acknowledge both, and both revere.
They see not clearliest who see all things clear.

There is much of the epigrammatic quality in a number of other very short poems. "Invention" is an example :

I envy not the lark his song divine,
Nor thee, O maid, thy beauty's faultless mould.
Perhaps the chief felicity is mine,
Who hearken and behold.

The joy of the Artificer unknown
Whose genius could devise the lark and thee—
This, or a kindred rapture, let me own,
I covet ceaselessly.

The poet's conception of the poetic, and, in fact, of the literary, calling, leaves him scant patience with slipshod or ugly writing, or with

writing evidencing either a decadent or an irreverent spirit. The flagellant scorn of (for instance) "The Orgy on Parnassus" has not tended to popularize the author among a certain class of writers. Naturally he has not escaped abuse, and if there be those who would have had him disregard it there are certainly others who see in his championship of high ideals—even when it takes the form of pommelling (not always with gloves on) writers who don't understand them—a salutary stirring of the Spirit of Letters. The poem "Nature's Way," rebuking poets whose verse is "Ragged and jagged by intent, As if each line were earthquake rent," contains the following, among other, delightful lines :

Nature ! whose lapidary seas
Labour a pebble without ease,
Till they unto perfection bring
That miracle of polishing ;
Who never negligently yet
Fashioned an April violet,
Nor would forgive, did June disclose
Unceremoniously the rose.

What constitutes a great poet ? If Gray and if Keats be conceded the adjective it is clear that greatness is not a question of mass or of a poem's length. As a matter of fact, does not a great poet, so far as regards popular appreciation—which is the permanent tribunal—depend for his recognition, generally speaking, upon a very few of his poems ? Among the methods of judging the quality of a poet (at any rate a traditional poet) there is one that appears to me to be peculiarly helpful. It is to take examples from the various kinds of his poems, and set the examples of each kind against the most esteemed work of a recognized master in the same mode of expression. If it then appear that the examples exhibit no unworthiness—that, in short, the master might have acknowledged them without peril to his eminence—their merit should be sufficiently demonstrated, provided of course that they be not mere imitations. Sir William Watson's poetry affords many distinct varieties as poetry, and if it be tested in the manner suggested the result must certainly, to my mind, entitle him to be called a great poet.

J. CARTWRIGHT FRITH.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OLDER DISSENT :

WITH SOME PRACTICAL REFLECTIONS¹

MISS FAITHFULL, of the Ladies' College, Cheltenham, lately undertook a defence of that much debated phenomenon, the modern girl, or as I doubt not they call her at Cheltenham (despite Messrs. Fowler and the King's English) the *modn gayrl*. Miss Faithfull talked sense. She said that it is useless and even stupid to deplore the difference between the modern girl and her mother, since that difference must be ; but having so made her peace with the audience—it was of course a school prize day—she offered sops of comfort to the great and good on the platform by holding out the hope and even the expectation that the modern girl, certain as she is to be unlike her mother, may be very like her grandmother. “It is idle,” said Miss Faithfull, “to expect the modern girl to like the same books as her mother and I liked ; she must have the latest or (here is the sting) the genuine antique. E. B. C. Jones or Jane Austen, I take it, but not Ian Maclaren and Coventry Patmore. It is precisely the recent past which will not do.

Now if, as Herodotus said of the Danube and the Nile, we may argue from the known to the unknown, Miss Faithfull and the modern girl may be used as a text for ourselves and modern Dissent. The present age seems to regard the Free Churches as Miss Faithfull's girls regard their mother's library. Do we not sometimes wonder what is, what ought to be, what can be, the appeal and the contribution of the Free Churches, of Congregationalism, to the present age ? Our fathers and grandfathers knew quite well ; on this very subject they spoke for many hours in places like the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, and (*Credo quod impossibile*) were cheered to the echo. For us the oracles seem dumb ; for modern Dissent no slogan, no hideous hum, is vouchsafed. You cannot attack the Established Church ; it is so like ourselves. The Life and Liberty Movement invested it with the wearisome paraphernalia of self-government ; lists, councils, committees, votes more manifold and deplorable than our own. The Bishops now propose to tear up the Act of Uniformity : on the one hand to countenance a liturgy almost as popish as that of King's Weigh House Congregationalism ; on the other to admit extempore prayer, illicit and no doubt ungrammatical collects, and that general confusion of worship on which it has been our habit to pride ourselves. Every kind of vulgarity and crankiness in use among us has for some time been practised by the more wide-awake and conscientious clergy. In a word, our old case against the Establishment

¹ A paper read to the Cambridge University Congregational Society.

gone and those hot for disendowment might deplore that, like Watts, some of us are "far from apprehending those principles that lie at the basis of modern voluntarism." Even its endowments interest us little. In an age that thinks only in millions they seem tiny; and our passion for seeing the national government spend money, even other people's, has suffered since the war some abatement. Beside Mr. Snowden and Mr. Churchill, the Archbishop of Canterbury wears an almost attractive purseholder.

It is the same with the less ecclesiastical side of the controversy. The Nonconformist conscience, when it expounds the so-called Puritan ideal in public and private life, receives little attention and no enthusiasm. The drink traffic is an evil which rightly or wrongly we believe to be diminishing; for the rampant and growing betting trouble we have no remedy; campaigns against boxing, Sunday theatres, Sunday games do not stir much young blood. Young Nonconformist God accepts it all as probably deplorable (since it is so often deplored), and for all that reads the *Observer* and drops into Fuller's for tea on Friday afternoons.

Let no one accuse me of sneering at those better men than myself, my fathers. I wish only to set down what everyone who knows knows to be true. I set it down for the moment without comment; it seems to me that much of the characteristic Nonconformist tradition and soul of last century has worked itself to a standstill. Dr. Clifford himself could not make our blood boil with the old ecclesiastical and secular fuel. But since I shall have several things to say of the inability of Victorian Nonconformist ideas to do much in the present world I take this chance of affirming my personal loyalty to that nineteenth century from which I spring. Is not a Diamond Jubilee procession almost my first memory of national events? Would I not with all my heart return to the simple strife of Tory and Liberal, Church and Chapel, darkness and light, as it was waged before the doubtful forces of Labour and Reunion raised head among us? Voting Liberal with even more confidence in the extinction of the Liberal Party than the inerrant Ramsay MacDonald possesses, deploring the weakness that leads our ministers to grace cathedrals with sound doctrine, standing foursquare to Barrett's Hymnal, long convinced that I am the last real Dissenter, and since the publication of the revised Prayer Book that I am the last real Anglican too—I will not be accused of disloyalty to Victorian Dissent.

My purpose is to enquire if, in this time when a recently closed epoch and the story of Dissent provides only an inspiration that seems somewhat tame and flat, we may not do well to take Miss Faithfull's hint and look a stage further back to what (for want of a better title) I call the older Dissent. Not the oldest; I do not propose to give Oliver Cromwell a shout out or to take you among the heroic epics of the seventeenth century. Inspiration for to-day we should hardly find there, I suspect.

The setting is too heroic, the controversy too epic for our day. I rather at that pedestrian age that lies between the Commonwealth Clarendon Code, the Toleration Act, on the one side, and what, borrowing Newton's admirable phrase, we may call the "solid joys" of Victorian Nonconformity on the other. I may be wrong in supposing that it contribute anything valuable for our present discontents, but it seems to me that sympathetically considered it can speak with tones that because they are slightly more remote, may jar less on the ear of to-day and to-morrow than those homely Victorian voices that I love. the older Dissent is, in Miss Faithfull's phrase, a genuine antique.

I am not going to be pressed very closely to define what I mean by the older Dissent. I cannot define it very exactly, for much of it lingered from the eighteenth well into the nineteenth century and in old haunts, far-off places, bolstered by ancient endowments against County Union and enlightened opinion and social conscience, it lingers still. According to the promise a remnant remains.

This much by way of definition I will say: to get at the older Dissent you must get behind at least three great movements which went to the making of the characteristic late Victorian Dissent. First and most important, you must get behind that disintegration of Calvinism accomplished completely by the nineteenth century. You must return to days when our churches had a coherent, intelligible, well-formulated system of doctrine and in their daily life enjoyed or suffered from the effects of such a possession. The disintegration of Calvinism and the need for a reintegration I do not propose to discuss; but I remind you that late nineteenth century and twentieth century Dissent has no such setting and framework hewn from Genevan rock.

Second, you must get behind the Evangelical Revival. Now William Cowper long ago observed that any stick was good enough to rule an evangelical religion, and so long as we have the psychologists and the Anglo-Catholics and the renegade Dissenters with us we shall have a lack of puny fellows to wield the stick. I am not here to undervalue the Evangelical Revival; I am tempted to stay to say a word about the permanent contribution of the Evangelical Revival to religion; but I must not. My point now is merely that the older Dissent had not known the Evangelical Revival and that many features of nineteenth century Dissent are to be explained by the solvent action of the Revival on the ecclesiasticism of the older Dissent. The Evangelical Revival brought many of God's gifts in fullest measure; but a true discerning of the Lord's body was not one of them. The revival was a movement of personal and group religion; not a quickening of the Church as such. It most happily filled England with a mass of religious emotions and activities and societies. Church fellowship it did not particularly emphasize. New churches sprang up everywhere as spiritual religion spread, new churches in communion with the older Dissent, but they lacked the sense of churchmanship that had been the very essence

ly, the old Independency. They were associations of men with a particular personal experience and a desire to hear (as they would say) "the Gospel" preached; they were not men who had seen the pattern of New Jerusalem showed in the Mount, building Christ's Church on the apostolic model in distinction from the false models copied in Rome and Canterbury and other places.

Now if you will grant me this, as I think you must, you will see that though the Evangelical Revival quickened and multiplied those pure in heart that see God it weakened and diluted the older churchmanship of Dissent; because it brought into our Communion a mass of persons with no ecclesiastical convictions or foundations or experience. And the essence of the old Dissent was an *ecclesiastical* experience; to get behind the Evangelical Revival is to be vividly aware of that.

The third thing that must be got behind is the alliance of the Liberal Party with Nonconformity, an alliance which till about 1906 seemed in the nature of things and was commonly assumed to hold the past and the future as it held the present. It did not, in fact, go back beyond the Reform Bill of 1832; it hardly went so far. Dissent, of course, always had a certain political significance; did not Swift depict Lord Wharton in the immortal quip—"I spare you the conclusion—He is a Presbyterian in politics and an atheist in religion"? But the new feature of the alliance in the nineteenth century was a certain communication of attributes," if we may borrow a theological phrase, by which you might predicate of a Dissenting church all those qualities which marked the Liberal Party; and *vice versa*. Thus because the Liberal Party came to stand for what are called democratic methods of government it was (and indeed is) alleged that a democratic method of self-government is the mark of an Independent or Congregational church, as aristocratic rule is the mark of Presbyterianism and monarchy of Episcopacy. From the functions of the chairman or secretary of a Liberal meeting or those of a Liberal agent might seem to have been produced the late nineteenth century conception of a Congregational minister: one who presides, and even has a casting vote, who carries out the expressed will of the assembly, who fosters the interests and acts as the agent of a body of persons who once appointed and still employ him. Such a travesty of Congregationalism did arise in the nineteenth century mainly, I think, from the confusion of political and religious ideas caused by the alliance of Liberalism and the Dissenting interest. It was generally understood that Dissent was a protest against priesthood and for the rest it was a rough religious transcript of the facile democratic faith of the bourgeois who did not in the least understand where it was leading him even politically. Behind all this—this democratic dressing—we must seek the older Dissent.

If then we look behind Liberalism and the Evangelical Revival and the collapse of Calvinism, what do we see? We see a Dissent which is still in many particulars familiar enough. There is enough criticism of

ministers and their wives to make deacons feel happily at home. We hear of the scandal of "ministers' wives wearing curled hair and large hoops," and it is difficult to believe that the following "Verses made on the Dissenting Ministers and found at Hamblin's Coffee-House by an Uncertain Author," were not written last year with faked names. You sermon tasters can supply the correct names of all.

Behold how papal Wright, with lordly pride,
Directs his haughty eye on either side,
Gives forth his doctrine with imperious nod,
And fraught with pride addresses e'en his God.

Not so the gentle Watts: in him we find
The fairest pattern of an humble mind;
In him the softest, meekest virtue dwells,
As mild, as light, as soft as evening gales.

Tuning melodious nonsense Bradbury stands
With head uplifted and with dancing hands,
Prone to sedition and to slander free,
Sacheverell, sure, was but a type of thee.

Mark how the pious matrons flock around,
Pleased with the tone of Guise's empty sound;
How sweetly each unmeaning period flows,
To lull the audience to a gentle doze.

Eternal Bragge in never-ending strains
Unfolds the wonders Joseph's coat contains;
Of every hue describes different cause,
And from each patch a solemn history draws.

With soundest judgment and with nicest skill
The learned Hunt explains his Master's will;
So just his meaning and his sense so true,
He only pleases the discerning few.

But see the accomplished orator appear,
Refined in language and his reasoning clear;
Thou only, Foster,^x hast the pleasing art
At once to charm the ear and mend the heart.

Not only the ministers and their wives present familiar features. General opinion busied itself with our own problems: "An Inquiry into the Causes of the Decay of the Dissenting Interest"; "Free Thoughts on the Best Means of Reviving the Dissenting Interest," written two hundred years ago, strike a note not strange to us and tell their own tale. The reasons alleged for the decline might be taken from the *Christian World*: "that orthodox Divines in many cases were bigoted; that sermons were too long; that prayers were too short; that youths were put to High Church schools; that encouragement was

^x It was of this Foster, minister of a church in Pinners' Hall, that Pope wrote:
Let modest Foster, if he will, excel
Ten metropolitans in preaching well."

afforded to strolling Scotch ministers; that vacant pulpits were mismanaged; that older ministers did not properly treat their younger brethren; that there was need for Dissenting preachers to cultivate polite habits." . . . The social attractions of the Established Church drew men first to occasional and then to regular conformity, "and it has been seen that if parents do not, yet the children of such parents quit the Dissenting interest and this mostly in families of figure and substance." We hear in 1731 that at least twenty persons calling themselves Dissenting ministers had joined the Church of England in London in the last ten years. Such were some of the complaints against Dissent; to complete the parallel with our own times the acute critic and physician of Dissent himself followed the same path that he had deplored and turned Anglican too.

There were, as there still are, deeper complaints: a lack of the old piety; a declining from the severe and homely ways of Puritanism; neglect of Sabbath observance, an assumption of worldly interest and manners by the rising generation which made them almost indistinguishable from mere Anglicans. These are not new vices in Dissent.

But everything in the older Dissent would not be so much like our own times. Turning from its vices we stand on less familiar ground. First, and in a way last too (for it runs through all), there was a flavour of ecclesiasticism about it which would shock and offend many modern Dissenters. The old Dissenter was a great churchman. No notions of a free and easy fellowship where Jack is as good as his master, where an unregulated and indefinable love of the brethren is the only thing asked and the only rule of life in the society, where all forms and rites and creeds are optional, carrying only such virtue as each individual is pleased or displeased to read into them, where tradition and authority are like the giants Pope and Pagan in Bunyan's story, dead or grinning harmlessly—no such notions had entered the older Dissenter's head. In most of the matters where nineteenth century Dissent prided itself on its unlikeness to the Anglican, the older Dissent was on the Anglican side. Let me illustrate what I mean.

And first in the buildings. It is often supposed that only lately have we begun to use a distinctively ecclesiastical style of architecture for our chapels. To some this is the mark of culture, to others the mark of the beast; to both it is new. Culture or the beast, I leave an open question; but it is not new. We have almost always built in the ecclesiastical style of the period in which we lived, or more precisely in that of the just ended period. Our buildings are always about a generation behind the Anglican; that is why they are always sniffed at as in bad taste. We were still putting organs in galleries when the Anglicans in one of their many fits of pseudo-medievalism most inconveniently put them where they had never been, in chancels; we were still moving organs from galleries to chancels as the Anglicans are now putting them back into galleries; ours will reach the galleries

again as the Anglicans re-introduce the old musicians' band ; and so on. The rectangular chapel, with pulpit, clerk's desk, and sounding board in the middle of one of the long sides, was the regular ecclesiastical style of the eighteenth century ; it is the Georgian parish church with the Communion Table moved from an apse, where it was overlooked, to the more prominent place beneath the pulpit. The Communion Table was not without its furniture ; not indeed the vegetation which twentieth century sentimentality has called in to fill the vacuum created by nineteenth century slovenliness, but furniture with an ecclesiastical meaning : a Bible, Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, or a folio of sermons. Not so picturesque ! It was meaning not picturesqueness that marked our forefathers' worship. Fonts horrify us to-day in chapels as all slavish and fashionable copying of our neighbours should ; but the older Dissent was as far from our minimizing of the sacrament of baptism as from our liking of fonts as appropriate (and harmlessly unmeaning) furniture. A basin sometimes carried up to a fixture made in the side of the pulpit to receive it gave visible witness to the congregation. The principal members of the congregation had large square parlour-like pews lined with baize and concealed by curtains ; atrocious, I shall be told, in every particular as those that the fanatic frenzy of socialistic Romanizers have removed from many a parish church. Pews in our chapels were owned and bequeathed by will. There was no nonsense about the house of God belonging to the whole community : it belonged to the saints who might have sung with a peculiar meaning that version of *Ps.* 23⁶

There would I find a settled rest,
While others go and come ;
No more a stranger or a guest,
But like a child at home.

Or consider the relations of Dissent and the Establishment. These were very peculiar. Eighteenth century Dissent held a curious privileged position : it was a little world apart, not suffered to share in the common citizenship, and yet after the Hanoverian succession in 1714 very definitely smiled upon by the Court and demonstratively loyalist. Watts had celebrated the death of Queen Anne in verses still sung by Anglicans who have no notion of their meaning : the triumphant verse on Anne's death

Time like an ever-rolling stream,
Bears all its sons away,
They fly forgotten as a dream
Dies at the opening day

is mistaken for melancholy ; and the saints who dwell under the shadow of God's throne (not " beneath " it, as our exquisites will say) are not the haloed saints of Kemp's stained glass, but the Cromwellian saints whose rule on earth was still a memory. By 1745 Dissent had changed its tune : the Stuarts had gone, and the rebellion of the Highlands for the

Young Pretender moved Doddridge to raise troops from his congregation for the government and to indulge in much verse:

Accept, great God, Thy Britain's songs,
While grateful joy unites our tongues,
To own the work Thy hand hath done;
Thy hand hath crushed our cruel foes,
When in rebellious troops they rose
And swore to tread our glory down.

After all, if the Test and Corporation Acts were not repealed the Dissenters received a substantial compensation from the government: the Regium Donum, a grant of £500 a year made throughout the century for the assisting either ministers or their widows." The radical Dissenters of the nineteenth century tried to make a crime of this charity: my point is that the eighteenth century Dissent had not that scruple. This illustrates its peculiar national position.

Dissent entered into definite competition with the Established Church for the suffrages of the mass of the people, and became correspondingly unpopular, in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In earlier times it held a so peculiar and so definitely recognized place outside the law that it hardly aroused Anglican jealousy, except at election times for election purposes. There was little of the theological bitterness that the Oxford Movement was to instil into the relations. The Bangorian controversy in the Establishment and the Socinian controversy in Dissent aroused the interest and sympathy of conforming and non-conforming clergy alike. The Bishop of London submitted his pastoral letters to Dr. Watts for comment and the Archbishop of Canterbury wrote to "bold Bradbury," schismatic firebrand as he was, in holy congratulation on his success at the Salters' Hall Assembly in comforting those that wavered in their faith in the Holy Trinity: "I am glad to see that amidst our other much lesser differences we all stand fast and agree in contending for the faith as it was once delivered to the saints." Acceptance of the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England was a not unknown condition of ministry in a Congregational Church. Dissent knew its own ground, trusted it so well, that in those days it did not need to reject everything Anglican because it was Anglican. That is a phase of a later and weaker Dissent; there is little of the dissidence of Dissent in the eighteenth century. It is on goodish terms with Church and Throne, holding its own way apart from both, but without that inferiority complex that crippled Nonconformity as soon as it got equal rights of citizenship. In some ways the old position was the more dignified: to stand aside rather than to struggle for an equal place, though with feeblér equipment than the Anglican possessed.

What of the ministry? Here I fear to speak plainly, for the facts are so unpalatable that you will accuse me of twisting them. But call to memory if you can the eighteenth century Dissenting divines

as they are portrayed in sombre painting in vestries and colleges ; you will at least grant me (and I care not whether you bless or curse the ecclesiastical air, the wig, the gown (the ministerial, not the academic gown), the bands—the dress, mark you, of the Establishment clergy of the day, the dress of the University preacher still. These are men conscious of a separate calling, neither professing nor countenancing that so-called priesthood of all believers which makes the minister only a specialized functionary of a society of Christians without power, authority, dignity, before men and God above his fellows. The handsome Calamy, as we follow him to Court in 1717 to present an address of congratulation on the restoration of peace, with his noble features, curled wig, exceptionally large bands and flowing gown—he and his brethren had no such conception or, to speak truly, lack of conception of the ministry as some at least of our principal colleges seem to hold to be good Congregationalism, and as the CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY took occasion to expound some months ago. Hear the ordination certificate¹ of a minister ordained by Calamy and others ; and note that ordination then was deemed worthy of certification.

We the undersigned Pastors of Churches and Ministers of the Most Holy Gospel do certify all who shall read this letter :—that Mr. George Smyth, Master of Arts in the University of Glasgow, after completing the curriculum of academical studies, first at London, next at Glasgow, lastly at Leyden in Holland, and after the usual call to the pastoral office (in the hamlet commonly called Hackney)—a call supported moreover by many proofs of scholarship, piety and a life conformed to the rule of the Gospel, no less than of aptness for teaching, and a highly acceptable style of preaching ;—has been this day with prayers, fasting and laying on of hands, set apart by us to the aforesaid pastoral office and duly ordained presbyter ; whose authority therefore for teaching the Holy Scriptures in the public assemblies of Christians, of administering the Sacraments of the Gospel and of exercising ecclesiastical discipline (in accordance with the order of the early Church and the model of the Church Reformed) we have unanimously approved and further have given him the right hand of brotherhood. Wherefore we heartily recommend the above to all pastors of Churches and the whole of the faithful, especially to our brethren in the said hamlet, as a legitimate minister of the Divine Word, and upon him and his pious labours in the vineyard of the Lord Jesus Christ, we invoke with fervent prayers, the fruitful blessing of Jehovah.

GULIELMUS LORIMER
EDM : CALAMY, S.T.P.
JOSH: OLDFIELD, S.T.P.
B. ROBINSON
JOH. EVANS

JEREAH SMITH
S. BROWNE
W. TONG
THO: REYNOLDS
W. HARRIS
DANIEL MAYO

London 14th January
in the year of the Christian Era
1716

¹ Translated from the original at Clapton Park Congregational Church, London.

Set beside this one of Doddridge's hymns (he wrote many) for an ordination ; and you have a Dissenting doctrine of apostolic succession that we have almost lost, that we are sometimes told is not Dissenting.

The Saviour, when to heaven He rose
In splendid triumph o'er His foes,
Scattered His gifts on men below,
And wide His royal bounties flow.

Hence sprung th' apostles' honour'd name,
Sacred beyond heroic fame ;
Hence dictates the prophetic sage
And hence the evangelic page.

In lowlier forms, to bless our eyes,
Pastors from hence, and teachers rise
Who, though with feebler rays they shine,
Still gild a long extended line.

and so on.

Slovenliness about sacred rites is no part of historical Nonconformity. Our forefathers opposed not rites as rites, but what they considered incorrect or unauthorized rites. They boasted the conformity of their rites with those of the ancient Church Catholic. The laying on of hands, for instance, at the ordination of ministers, which in some Congregational circles to-day is regarded as Anglican or Popish (because the Anglicans and Papists use it, I suppose ; but the same objection may be made against private prayer) ; this venerable apostolic rite they scrupulously practised and lamented the beginnings of that neglect which was to mark the following century. How much they cared for baptism the controversy with the Baptists, and its voluminous fluidity, shows ; a point of view utterly unlike that of two distinguished modern representatives of the denominations whom I have heard in this room so speak of the matter as to leave the impression that the Baptists only desire to prevent infant baptism and the Congregationalists only desire to prevent adult baptism, both agreeing that the complete absence of the rite was hardly a matter to be deplored. Such, whatever it is, is not the faith of the older Dissent. No act of the Church to them was superfluous or immaterial. Everything mattered.

That is indeed another most characteristic note of the older Dissent. It took itself and its doings very seriously. Its services were few, but lengthy and important ; morning and afternoon prayer, Scripture reading, sermon, and psalm-singing on Sundays, with Communion perhaps most usually in the afternoon once a month. There were few other gatherings, but there is a solemnity about the references to what was done which convinces even the casual reader of the value and importance attached to the proceedings of the Church in divine worship. Our modern terror of the doctrine of the *opus operatum*—the rite conveying its own merit independently of the worshipper's state of mind—we have come to judge religious exercises by an exclusively

subjective human standard that would rightly scandalize our forerunners in the faith. We look at a service from the point of view of the effort sought and made on the congregation. We try by suitable music and reading to lead our minds to a particular place and put them into a foreseen posture. Holy Scripture is read, not so much for its own sake—because to hear the oracles of God is in itself an act of spiritual worship, a means of grace, a thing good in itself—but because it contributes to the attainment of a particular state of mind; if it does not so contribute we conceive that it has missed fire and nothing has been done. Similarly with prayer: prayer to the old Dissent was a particular act, a particular means of grace, not a state of mind shading off into ineffectiveness at indeterminable points. The essential, the overwhelming, thing was always the same: the human soul presented itself before God. That was constant; that mattered; what was said, how it was said, how it affected man—that mattered little or not at all. The fundamental solemnity of the old phrases, “after Scripture read and prayer offered,” comes out of such a conception of the acts, acts in which God is the first and chief mover, acts Godward not manward, acts with a validity and a grace independent of the unworthiness of the minister and the congregation. To hear the Divine Word, to take the Divine Name—here was the elemental piety of men who had seen God and knew that it sufficed them. Their altar was so sacred that it needed no trappings to make it look sacred—trappings of the human mind. I mean, not only Oxford Movement millinery—it sanctified the gift by its own holiness. We are still so often more concerned about the givers and the givers than about the altar. That was not a quality of the old Dissent. The slap-dash assumption of much modern Nonconformity is that anything can be a means of grace because God can speak to men in any way, that there is no special virtue in particular exercises, office places and occasions, that it does not matter how, when, and where you do anything so long as decency in order is observed—and that simply out of regard for human taste—this is a denial, if not of truth, at any rate of the faith of the older Nonconformity.

“Freedom of thought”—a euphemism usually for lack of thought—many conceived to be the fundamental note of Nonconformity in the nineteenth century. “Purity of doctrine,” orthodoxy (why shy at the word?) would have been claimed rather by the eighteenth century. There was nothing on which the eighteenth century Congregationalist so much prided himself, and well he might. The Presbyterians sank into Socinianism and Unitarianism and declined; the Baptists are always by nature and sometimes by grace inclined to cranks and fads; but of ourselves it was said with as much truth in 1731 as later in 1832 at the foundation of the Union, “the Dissenting ministers of the Independent denomination are almost to a man Calvinists, and on that account are the more united in judgment of any set of Christians in the kingdom.” The idle notion that a Congregationalist is a man regardless

of doctrine and that a Congregational pulpit is a place for the utterance of any opinion, provided only that it be charitable and well meant, finds no support in history. The story of the Salters' Hall Conference must not re-tell; but no Congregationalist should wish to forget—and no Congregationalist who wishes to forget should be permitted to forget—that in the decisive struggle with loose doctrines of the Holy Trinity Congregationalists formed the main body of the orthodox party which followed “Bold Bradbury” into the gallery of the meeting-house amid the hisses of the waverers—hisses that drew from Bradbury the instant retort: “It is the serpent’s voice and it may be expected against a zeal for Him Who is the woman’s Seed.” It was the authentic voice of the older Congregationalism which spoke in the address of the Congregational Union in 1834 to our ministers and churches. The language and the matter alike move us to pride and gratitude for the noble ecclesiastical heritage into which we are come:

Greatly do we rejoice that, in addressing you, we find so many subjects on which we can employ the language of humble yet thankful congratulation. It is a sacred and heartfelt joy to us, to feel assured that our pastors and churches retain an unchanged, enlightened and most cordial attachment to those great evangelical truths, which are the glory of the gospel, and which were committed by the venerable founders of our Congregational churches, to them, as to divinely-appointed depositories, for their sure preservation from age to age, and for their ultimate spread throughout the whole family of man. We have a recent and most pleasing evidence of the unanimous constancy of our body in these sacred truths, afforded by the general and harmonious reception of the DECLARATION of those things most surely believed among us, set forth by the last general meeting of this Union. Christian Brethren, our joy and gratitude for this abiding universal attachment of our churches to gospel truth is in full proportion to our deep sense of the value and importance of those doctrines; of their inseparable connexion with the glory of Christ, the salvation of souls, the vitality of religion, and the prosperity of the church; and of their sacred authority and certain truth as the sure sayings of God in his inspired Word. Bear with us, Brethren, if we mingle here the language of entreaty with that of congratulation. Abide in the truth. Let the fall and ruin of man; the deity and incarnation of the Son of God; the priestly office and atoning sacrifice of the Saviour; justification by faith, and salvation by free and sovereign grace; the work, power, and grace of the Holy Spirit; the regeneration of the human heart; and the vital, experimental nature of true godliness; let these, and their associated and subordinate truths, continue to be not only your creed, but your glory. Beloved Brethren in the Ministry, hide not these great doctrines in obscurity. Give them no cold or timid commendation. Glory in them before God and your hearers. You know how to exhibit them in their lovely harmony with all the interests of holiness, in their power and tendency to produce all the fruits of righteousness. Never shall we tremble for the ark of our Zion, while these glorious truths hold their due place in our convictions and our affections; while our ministers determine to know nothing else in their public labours, and while our churches will not receive, nor bid God speed to any who bring not this doctrine.

What does it all amount to? Do you tell me that, tricked with a few grotesque phrases, and quaint incidents, my older Dissent is a quite unlovely affair, narrower and more repulsive than you supposed, certainly lacking in any inspiration to revive our fortunes to-day? Will you not look again? Is there not, behind some of its oddity and unattractiveness, a hint here and there of what we need to-day? I end with three practical reflections.

First: the older Dissent (you must have felt it) believed in itself as a religious institution. It was quite frankly and definitely a religious and an ecclesiastical affair. It stood for religion and for little else; it had a few side-shows; it did not exist to help other causes. Unless it had been justified religiously it had no justification. It called on its members to renounce a large part of their citizenship for a religious reason or (there was no longer any quarrel with the state as in Stuart times) for that. That is the value of a study of eighteenth century Dissent; you see it working as a religious institution only, free from the political distractions and cross currents of the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries. I think that is why in some ways it is nearer to us than the Congregationalism of Cromwell's time or Dale's: we live in an age that is asking if Dissent has a religious justification since it lost the political savour that made it so pleasing to the Liberalism of last century. Now I am not sure that we have any right to be easy about facing this question. We modern Dissenters believe in many things; we believe in *Cope* and the League of Nations; in the Labour Movement or the anti-Labour Movement; in reunion; in the witness of the Quakers in the world call to men of good will; in every cat hanging and dog fighting all over the world; but do we believe in ourselves? We are anxious that our churches should ally themselves with this great righteous cause and that, that they should bring their peculiar contribution to everyone's pie; but do we believe in Dissenting churches for their own sake? Do we believe that they have a religious value that matters supremely and is their real claim upon us and the world? The older Dissent certainly believed that.

Second: it followed from this belief in what it essentially was—a Church—that the older Dissent lacked completely that unmanly and devastating affection of amateurishness which became the bane of nineteenth century Nonconformity and remains to curse us. I mean this: you have got sooner or later to face the facts: a Church is a body of people (to put it mildly) interested in religion; a minister is a man mainly concerned in trying to spread and deepen religious influences. You may try to assume the air of men of the world; you may build a chapel in the style of a pier pavilion; you may disguise a minister as the assistant of an unsuccessful undertaker—for a time. But sooner or later the cat gets out of the bag. You wished everyone to think you a set of good fellows and then be surprised to learn that you were Christians; to think you a rather broad-minded sporting chap and then

learn that you were a parson ; you wanted to commend the faith by a pious ruse of native unreligious virtue and attractiveness. But it won't b. It flies in the face of every-day fact. Unless you move to a fresh village every fourteen days people will discover that you go to church long before they are impressed by your merits. No one supposes that an Oxford man in a Yorkshire industrial town is a typical undergraduate because he wears no hat. It stamps him as a parson at once, because the typical undergraduate does wear a hat when he is in Yorkshire. Yet men practise these follies every day ; the standard is so high that the cult of amateurishness now calls for the greatest professional skill.

This is not a joke ; it is bad churchmanship, the legacy of the bad part of nineteenth century Dissent. It is bad churchmanship because it assumes that we have no real foundation for our Dissenting churches, but arrive at our position by throwing overboard one after another of the impedimenta of Roman and Anglican Communions ; that a man is a Dissenter because he does not do certain things, not because he does quite as definitely certain other things. This negative kind of dissenter thinks more of his rejection of the Thirty-nine Articles (most of which his forefathers accepted) than of his adhesion to the Westminster Confession ; but it was to teach doctrines agreeable to the Confession, not doctrines disagreeable to the Articles, that Independent pulpits first arose. The faith of Dissent is not to be arrived at by finding out how much of the Anglican Church system you can safely scrap ; it is arrived at by beginning from a quite different but equally positive set of Church principles and following them as faithfully and as you will have it so) as professionally as Rome and Canterbury follow theirs. Dissent, despite its negative names, is a positive thing ; it has not essentially—it had not in the eighteenth century—any of that displeasing dissidence that has made people associate it with anti-vaccination, anti-vivisection, non-smoking, vegetarian, prohibitionist, and similar campaigns.

This is important to-day because people are seeing that if there is no positive core in Dissent, if it is only an emasculated, unprofessional Anglicanism that has laid aside the surplice, the dog-collar, the solemnity of " England's sublime liturgy," in order to make a stupid attempt to commend religion to men before they know where they are—it is only that, then there is no need for it. That kind of Dissent is settling more and more firmly fixed on the horns of the dilemma : if these doctrines, rites, institutions do not really matter, are not of the essence of human salvation—well, give them up ; if, on the other hand, they do matter, being truly the very means of God's grace—then treat them properly, seriously, not in your slovenly, apologetic manner, using them indeed but trying to pretend that you might just as well not have done so, that you could have found God as well in the cornfield as in the broken bread. There is a case for abandoning the Church and

its rites ; there is a case for an awful and punctilious use of them ; there is no case for an amateurish neglectful use.

On this rock you can see much modern Dissent splitting and it split much further yet. One school of Nonconformists have an uneasy feeling that they are only doing rather badly what the Anglican is doing better ; just as the High Anglican knows himself to be the (married) relation of the Jesuit. Such a Nonconformity carries with it its death warrant. Another school of Nonconformists have an uneasy feeling that the Quakers are really doing better what we ought to do and that school carries its death warrant too. If Dissent is to survive it must survive not as a degenerate form of Anglicanism or a spiritualized form of Quakerism ; it must survive as *sui generis*, because it can believe in itself. If it cannot, no one else can. We must re-examine the positive foundations of English Dissent as they were laid in Geneva and having cleared our own minds and hearts about what it is that we stand for, we must do it as openly and unblushingly as Rome and Canterbury do it and as the older Dissent did.

For third—and last—it does matter more than can be said that we should have the right churchmanship. People often think only of the effect of a service on them ; this pleases, that does not ; and there seems little difference anyway between the service at Holy Trinity Church (shall we say ?) and Emmanuel. But there is a world of difference between the churchmanship of the two places. Holy Trinity is linked in ecclesiastical fellowship with Little St. Mary's and St. Giles ; and these represent a force more virile, more logical, more enduring (as it is to us less pleasing) than the Anglican Evangelicalism of Holy Trinity. Despite appearances, the cringing effeminate prurience represents a tougher force than the Student Movement type of Anglican Evangelical with all his heartiness and bluster ; and Anglicanism cannot offer the Christian world a real alternative to the Roman system, for it has no independent ecclesiastical foundation. It rests ultimately on the same order of ideas ; any modification of them is but a temporary illogicality. The steady permanent drift is not difficult to see. Between Romanism and Rationalism it used to be said we were caught to stand ; and it is still true. Positive Dissenting churchmanship is worth preserving for without it the world has no choice but between the Rationalism that is without hope and without God in the world and the Romanism that adds so much to the Christian hope and the Christian God as almost to obscure them both. The misfortunes of its history have for most of its career made Dissent seem a merely negative force ; the eighteenth century is valuable for this if for nothing else, that in it we see our churches doing positive religious work and may find a hint of the way in which we too should do it.

B. L. MANNING.

THE CHURCH AND THE MINISTRY.¹

Every subject divides itself, and I begin with the Church. Every denomination turns to the New Testament for the justification of its Church order, and finds it. One man lights upon a word, translates it according to his inclinations, and finds the Bishop of Rome; another lighting upon other words finds a Quakers' meeting; and the intermediate denominations do the same. Men are always prone to the discovery that the counsels of God are the counterpart of their own.

The denominations cannot all be right according to New Testament standards. I submit the proposition that none of them is. Not one of the rival systems of Church government to-day is a simile of the Apostolic Church; and for one sufficient reason—it could not have a single uniform order. There were bishops, that is to say, overseers, and surely an overseer must have something to oversee; and this is something more than the minister of the Church in the house of Scilla and Aquila. Yet he is no argument in favour of modern episcopacy. The name continues, but its contents are changed. As Dr. Chadlam has said, ²“There is no Biblical authority for episcopacy. . . . Attempts have been made to find arguments, but they are based on misrepresentation.” The same can be said of Presbyterianism. There are presbyters, local officers, sometimes called “bishops” and sometimes “pastors”; but the government of the Church is not Presbyterian, any more than it is Wesleyan. Then there is Congregationalism. Congregational elements are there, but others are there also. Churches are independent, but they are also correlated through someone whom they sometimes call “elder” and sometimes “overseer.” We cannot claim to be a replica of the Church as we see it in the *Acts* or in the Pastoral Epistles; if we were, there would be no chairmen of Unions and no Moderators—Secretaries would have place by giving them the benefit of a doubt. No one would maintain that modern deacons are identical with those seven men in the church at Jerusalem, who, we are told, were full of wisdom, and wrought great wonders and signs among the people, and provided the first martyr.

You can easily discern what the Apostolic Church thought of forms of Church government. No one of its members ever believed it worthwhile to create a new denomination because he did not like the organization of his local church. It was a matter not worth the most casual reference. At the opening of the story in the *Acts* you find that there were “elders” amongst the Jews, synagogue-rulers or the like; you turn over a page, and find that there are “elders” also in the

¹ An address to the Lancashire Congregational Union.

² *Doctrine of the Church and Christian Re-union*, p. 88; *The Church of England*, p. 119.

Christian Church ; but Luke does not think it worth while to say a word as to how they got there. Turn over another page, and you find Paul and Barnabas appointing " elders " in every church, and Luke says no word as to how it was done, or by what right they did it.

The Apostles felt little or no concern about Church government ; consequently they did not leave a single regulation as to how the Church of Christ should organize itself. There was the Spirit of Christ for that ; and we must suppose that they had the foresight to discern that every century would not be like their own nor every place like Asia Minor or Macedonia.

Our Lord made His mind clear on the matter ; He neither founded an organization, nor drafted one. To ascribe to Him the creation of the ecclesiasticism and sacerdotalism of the Christian Church is to pay small respect even to His human intelligence. Anyone but an ecclesiastic would foresee the evils and curses they would introduce into the Church, most of all a Jew who had seen a priesthood in operation, and a priest and a Levite leave to his fate a wounded traveller by the roadside.

The Apostolic Church developed according to its necessities, which were not the same in every place. A dispute arose in the Jerusalem church about the distribution of alms ; the Greek-speaking widows thought that they were being overlooked. This was an emergency for which its organization made no provision. The potentialities of a body of complaining widows had never been visualized. To meet the emergency some *ad hoc* officials were appointed, and lo, the office of deacons comes into existence. Probably it was following the same course as it or some other church had adopted when elders were created. So it acts in each successive crisis—the conversion of the Samaritans, the baptism of the Gentiles, and the problem of the validity of Jewish ceremonial law ; and when its first teachers were more it faced still harder problems in the same way. It measured the need and created the instrument.

That is the essential and significant thing about the Apostolic Church, or about any Church ; not that it did this or that, or said this word or that word. It was a living organism, whose inward life was the Spirit of Christ ; it was capable of adjusting itself to its varying exigencies ; it could progress, and was under no necessity to reject a proposal because it had never been thought of before, nor to follow a certain course because someone who was dead had introduced it.

The justification of Congregationalism is not that it has this or that form of government that was in the early Church, but that, like it, it has the Spirit of Christ, and can with Him meet the needs of the changing centuries. We want no antiquarianism ; we do not want to translate the Church back into medievalism, nor into the second century nor into the first. The best century is before us, and every present generation has the task of transforming its inheritance to meet the

the future and the needs of the hour as well. It is not just officers and machinery on a first century model that are required, but the boldness, faith, and confidence of the Church of the first century.

We do not know in detail the constitution of that Church; but if we did, I hold that it might be an example to us, but not a law. Or further, even if Paul had left a trust-deed—and he was inspired not to—I would not consider that every age was to be bound by it. What a commotion there would be if his command were enforced, that women should not be allowed to speak in public! The spectacle of a new Women's Crusade headed by the esteemed minister of Stanley Church, Liverpool¹, would make the heart of the bravest man in this nomination quail. But that would be nothing in comparison with the consequences of enforcing his other command that women shall wear their hair long, because it is their glory.

A Church is to be judged, not by the titles of its officers, nor by its machinery, nor by its reputedly ancient ritual, nor by the archaic pattern of its vestments—but by its fruits alone. When Father Elderley preached the sermon at the re-ordination of the Rev. J. Campbell—alas that he ever had the chance!—he declared that his ministry in the Congregational Church was full of the fruits of the Spirit. What more do you want? It would be no substitute, nor augmentation of that ministry, if it had revealed with meticulous exactitude the meaning of a few Greek words, *episkopos*, *presbeuteros*, *diakonos* and the like, and had introduced them into the City Temple. Churches do not live by forms, but by the Spirit.

Does anyone but the richly appavelled ecclesiastic really care about these antiquities? The Anglican Church at the present moment is deeply agitated about something called an *epiklesis*, an item in the communion service. What do the people know about an *epiklesis*? Would they recognize an *epiklesis* if they saw one or heard one? Will any father of a household ever say some Sunday morning, "We thought of going to Blackpool to-day but let us go to the church round the corner instead—it has an *epiklesis*"?

We have not determined what the Church of Christ is when we have defined its organization. If you ask the question, "Who are Christ's Church?" the answer is "No one knows." If you ask the question, "Who are the members of this or that church?" the answer is easy; they have all in some way been labelled and ticketed. The Roman Church declares that a person is made a member of Christ's Church by its administration of the rite of baptism; and this is how it is done. The child is received at the church-door by the priest, who breathes upon it, saying, "Depart from him, thou unclean spirit, and give place to the Holy Spirit, the Paraklete." Later he repeats the command with amplifications. "I exorcise thee, thou unclean spirit, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost"

¹ Mrs. E. E. Pickles, B.A., the widow of her predecessor, the Rev. A. Pickles, M.A.

(making the sign of the cross at each name) "that thou depart, and leave this servant of God; for it is He himself that commands thee, thou accursed one and damned. . . . Therefore, thou accursed devil, acknowledge thy decree, and give honour to the living God, and depart from this servant of God, inasmuch as God and our Lord Jesus Christ have vouchsafed to call him to his grace and mercy, and to the sacrament of baptism." Then, making the sign of the cross on the forehead of the infant, he says, "And this sign of the holy cross, which we make on thy brow, do not thou, thou accursed devil, violate." After that the priest places the end of his stole upon the child, and conducts it into the church, saying as he goes, "Enter thou into the temple of God, that thou mayest have part with Christ in life eternal." Once more he exorcises the unclean spirit in the child, whose nostrils he touches with his own saliva, and on whose breast he marks a cross with his thumb, saying, "I anoint thee with the oil of salvation in Jesus Christ, our Lord, that thou mayest have eternal life." With the baptismal water he makes the sign of the cross with his thumb on the child's head, and then wipes, first his thumb and then the head of the child with a white cloth, and laying it there he says, "Receive thou a white robe, which thou shalt carry to the judgment seat of Christ, that thou mayest have life eternal." The service is an interesting piece of mummery, and in parts amusing. It is of course all in Latin, merciful for the parents' feelings; for they would not patiently hear in homely English that their child had a devil. Happy souls, they never learn Latin. But that is how it is done according to Rome.

Christ alone knows those that are His. Some of them are in the churches, but it is a Christian hope that some of them are not. The defect of some is that they do not identify themselves with the organic Church; just as some in it have other defects. Who can tell which is the more grave, and which is fatal? Some follow near Christ, some fall off; and we have no footrule to mark off the distance at which a follower ceases to be a follower or a stranger begins to become one. In every case it is possible that they who are called publicans and sinners come to

The Ministry of the Church. The minister is there; how did he get there? Who put him there? "We do," say the ecclesiastics of Rome; "or rather we do more: we found a man, and made a priest." "We do we," says Canterbury. "No, you do not," says Rome; "you have not the Apostolic Succession. The Church of Sweden may peradventure have it, but you have not." "Our succession is quite as good as yours," says Canterbury: "There are missing links in your chain, and a lot of fiction in your history, and some of your documents are forged." "At any rate," answers Rome, "you have not the *porrectio instrumentorum*, you do not hand the chalice and paten to the ordained." "That does not matter," replies Canterbury; "we intend to do what our Lord did; and the intention counts."

Thus they both maintain that when one of their bishops properly prayed says, "Receive the Holy Ghost," the Holy Ghost enters into a man. He may be "evil" and "wicked," as the 26th Article of Religion states, yet the Holy Ghost has no option; the bishop in his proper vestments has said the words, and the Holy Ghost has to obey his imperative mood. It would only irritate to ask for proof that the Holy Spirit in a special sense is in the man they ordain, or to explain the manifest works of the Spirit in men they have not ordained.

When a man receives the call of God to the ministry, there is only one man that knows it. You cannot discover its verity by putting to him ten questions, eight of which must be attempted. The man himself in the pride of his heart may be mistaken, and discover later that the wise Providence intended him to make of his gifts was to be a journalist, or even a contributor to that remarkable creation of Fleet Street and Christianity known as a religious paper.

A church invites a man to minister to it, but it does not thereby make him a minister of the Gospel; it accepts him as such; he is one already. He goes through an ordination service; neither does that make him one; not even if all the officials of the Union of England and Wales participated; and if they be absent, it makes no difference. Neither can the professors of our colleges make him one; as congregations sometimes discover.

I have heard that in some instances ministers in our churches place their hands upon the head of the ordained. They have not informed us what they do thereby. If they really do something, why ministers only? Why not the chapel-keeper? Are their powers in this matter greater than his? And what are they? And where did they get them?

We all have a weakness for magic. Some like Sunday magic; others prefer Maskelyne. Some like to see the rabbit that was never there brought out of the hat that never held it. Others like to see, or to think they see, an unclean spirit driven out of an infant with holy water, and a man made into a priest by an incantation. Congregationalism has nothing to offer these people.

Was there an ordination service for the Apostles? And was Judas included? The man who says "Yes" is audacious with the audacity of which the sacerdotalist alone is capable. If he say "No" we reply, "Then the call of Christ, which sufficed for the Apostles, will suffice for us also." Were all the evangelists, prophets, presbyters, overseers, of the Apostolic Church ordained by ritual and ceremony? There is no proof, and the silence of the New Testament on the point goes for something. The ordination of Paul must have been a significant event, if it took place. Did it? If it did Luke ignores it; and it never occurred to Paul to suppose that he could confound his calumniators in the Church by saying, "I have been properly ordained, and the requisite number of the Apostles did it."

If that were the way in which Luke and the Apostle regarded ordination, we are justified in doing the same. Paul had the experience of the call of Christ ; that sufficed for him, and his works sufficed for the Apostles, and for the churches likewise of Galatia, Samaria, and Judæa, which were edified by his ministry. After they had heard him they did not enquire whether he had a voucher in his pocket signed by James of Jerusalem, or by Peter of—nowhere in particular—but certainly not of Rome. Those churches were too near Christ to trouble about such formalism, and in all likelihood were in the felicitous position of never having heard of it.

Our ordination service is the equivalent of the reception of St. Paul by the churches at Jerusalem and elsewhere. The minister is accepted because he presents himself as having “ seen the Lord in the way,” and because he “ with boldness,” if he recall his first endeavours “ preached Christ.” He is the same one minute after as he was one minute before. It has not equipped him for his office ; prayers have been offered that he may be yet more fully equipped. If there only such prayers are offered for him, he deserves sympathy and commiseration. If a congregation on entering the church offered in silence at every service an ordination prayer for its minister, it would be the better for it. The manuscript of that sermon might not be changed, but next Sunday’s might be.

Socrates was with his friend Phaidros on a green sward under a plane-tree by the banks of a stream. The place, said Socrates, was the favoured haunt of Pan and of the deities of the woods and streams whose shrines were there. At the end of their talk Socrates said, “ Is it not meet that we offer a prayer to these deities ? ” “ Certainly,” answered Phaidros. Then Socrates offered this prayer : “ O gracious Pan, and ye spirits of this place, grant that I may have beauty in the inner man, and that my outer life may be kindred to the inner. Let me count the wise man rich, and may I have no more money than a wise man can carry.” Turning to Phaidros he said, “ Do we really need anything else ? It shall suffice for me.” Phaidros answered, “ Include me in your prayer, for friends should share alike.” It is a prayer that would surely be heard in heaven ; and we can adapt it for our own. May we churches and ministers have the divine beauty in our soul, and may the outward expression of our life be akin to the inward. It shall suffice for us. I would not fear to use the last part of the prayer—may we not have more money than a wise man can use

A. LE MARCHANT.

THE REFORMATION AND CHRISTIAN UNITY.

It is a mistake to place undue stress on the evils or difficulties of our own times. All ages have their problems. Ours are grave enough, in all conscience; but the records of history show that our ancestors experienced troubles quite as serious. In this article we are concerned only with the religious aspect of things, and especially with the question of "Christian unity." Many zealous minds are occupied with schemes to bring Christians of various churches and denominations nearer together. This, also, is no new idea.

To take, first of all, the earliest great division of Christendom—that between the Orthodox Churches of the East and the Latin Church of the West, a separation which has existed for nearly a thousand years—we find that the root cause of it is in the inability of the Eastern Churches to accept the Papal supremacy. There have been numerous attempts to heal the schism, but there has been no permanent success. Popes Gregory VII, Urban II, Eugenius III, Innocent III, Gregory X, Nicholas IV, Eugenius IV, Calixtus III, Pius V, Clement VIII, Urban VIII and Clement XIV made efforts to reconcile Easterns to the Papacy. The fifteenth century scheme of Eastern and Western "re-union," at the Council of Florence, was a mere political pretence, and had no permanent results of an extensive kind. The fact is that only a few ecclesiastics and laity attached to the [Greek Imperial] court complied [with the "union" decree of Florence]; the mass of the clergy and people would have nothing to do with it."¹ However, by the "Union of Brest," in 1596, the majority of the Ruthenians, in South Russia, submitted to the Papacy.

In regard to *Western* Christendom, the separations resulting from the Protestant Reformation have been a matter which has never ceased to engage men's minds. Where are we now in regard to them?

George Calixtus, in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, and Molanus and Liebnez, negotiating with Bossuet fifty years later, strove to find some means of reconciling Protestants and Rome. Archbishop Wake, of Canterbury, in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, endeavoured to negotiate a union between the Anglican and Catholic Churches.

There is in the British Museum a curious little book, published in London in 1680, entitled *An Endeavour for Peace among Protestants*. Its author, William Hughes, proposed a scheme for reuniting Anglicans with Dissenters and other Protestants on this basis: "What if the Right Reverend Fathers, the Bishops, henceforth should admit a standing Council of Presbyters without advice and consent whereof, they should never pass any Act of Ordination or Jurisdiction? What, those Things amongst us (I mean the Ceremonies) that may be

¹ Rev. E. Denny, *Papalism* (1912), p. 122.

spared, and are by the Church profess'd Indifferent in their *Nature* should be also left so in their Use? What, if none other Declaration or Subscription were required now of Ministers, than in the reign of King Edward VI, and the Beginning of Queen Elizabeth: *viz.*, Obedience to the Doctrine of our Church? What, if those Ordain'd by Presbyteries when Bishops were removed [during Cromwell's time], should not be urged to take New Orders, but only a licence from the Bishop, on the same Qualification for the Exercise of their Ministry?"

However, these projects did not attempt reunion with the East or with Rome. Indeed, the main desire was for "Protestant solidarity in the fight against Rome.

The efforts for reunion, in our own days, have a wider vision. Charity, broadmindedness, and wide hope, must be the spirit in which these problems are approached; but that does not mean complaisance at the expense of truth. Truth, after all, is sovereign. Any sacrifice of it can do only harm; but, of course, it is needful to be sure that what we are standing for is really truth. This brings us to a crucial question—the question, indeed, which governs all these problems in Western Europe and in America, and affects them greatly elsewhere also. What is the meaning, to us, of the Reformation which took place in the sixteenth century?

Let us take the Roman Catholic view first. "The Reformation [is] the usual term for the religious movement which made its appearance in Western Europe in the sixteenth century, and which, while ostensibly aiming at the internal renewal of the Church, really led to a great revolt against it, and an abandonment of the principal Christian beliefs [whereas, but for that revolt, the Church would have remedied, of its own initiative, such evils as existed]. "Gradually, however, and largely owing to the variously hostile spirit of the civil powers, fostered and heightened by several elements of the new order, there grew up in many parts of Europe political and social conditions which hampered the free reformatory activities of the Church, and favoured the bold and unscrupulous, who seized a unique opportunity to let loose all the forces of heresy and schism so long held in check by the harmonious action of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities. . . . The authority of the Holy See had also been seriously impaired, partly through the fault of some of its occupants and partly through that of secular princes. The Pope's removal to Avignon in the fourteenth century was a grievous error, since the universal character of the papacy was thus obscured in the minds of Christian people. . . . There were also serious administrative abuses in the Papal Curia. . . . In princes and governments there had meanwhile developed a national consciousness, purely temporal and to a great extent hostile to the Church. . . . The Renaissance and Humanism partly introduced and greatly fostered these conditions. . . . A general renewal of ecclesiastical life, and a uniform improvement of evi-

conditions, beginning with Rome itself, the centre of the Church, were not promptly undertaken, and so it needed only an external impulse to precipitate a revolution, which was to cut off from the unity of the Church vast territories of central, and almost all northern, Europe.

The denial of the divinely instituted authority of the Church, both as regards doctrine and ecclesiastical government, opened wide the door to every eccentricity, gave rise to the endless division into sects and the never-ending disputes characteristic of Protestantism, and could not but lead to the complete unbelief which necessarily arises from the Protestant principles."¹

"Protestantism," said Count Joseph de Maistre,² "philosophism, and a thousand other sects, more or less perverse or extravagant, having prodigiously *diminished truths among men*, it is impossible mankind should continue long in the state they are in at present. They are in agitation and labour, they are ashamed of themselves and are seeking, with an indescribable convulsive energy, to make head against the torrent of errors, after having abandoned themselves to them with the systematic blindness of pride."

"The true and Catholic reformation, long desired but delayed by many difficulties, was," says another Roman Catholic authority,³ "taken up and successfully accomplished by the Council of Trent."

This view has fascination. The present writer knows it, having held it himself; he knows also the grief when loyalty to truth compels recognition that it is not the correct one.

Let us analyse it. It professes to give us a Church, secure in infallibility, which is our teacher of divine truth, as against a sinful and erring world; and it views such movements as the Reformation as being revolts from the One True Church; exaggerations and revolts which contrast with the Church's own divine life and power of recuperation. Let us have it admitted by the Roman Catholic authorities themselves that the evils were in the very bosom of the Church. They were not merely in the sinful world outside; they were in the very highest places of the Church. Consider the facts: the Popes and anti-Popes,⁴ during the Western Schism; the cessation, during that time, of the visible unity of the Church; the evils in "Rome itself, the centre of the church"; the logical *impasse* raised by the fact that the Council of Constance declared Councils to be above Popes, while a later Council (that of 1870) has decided to an opposite effect (and who can decide which was right, save by begging the question?).

We thus see that analysis does not bring us to a picture of a visible, infallible, Roman Church securely teaching an erring world—*Securus*

¹ Prof. J. P. Kirsch, in *Catholic Encyclopædia*, XII, 700, 701, 702, 710.

² *The Pope*, translation by Dawson (1850), p. xxvi.

³ Addis and Arnold, *Catholic Dictionary* (1917), p. 718.

⁴ It must be remembered that it is still undecided which Papal claimants, in the Great Schism, were the true ones; all that can be said is that "apparently the time is not yet ripe for the formation of a decision, if not definitive, at least better informed and more just."—Professor Salembrier, in *Cath. Ency.*, XIII., 541.

judicat orbis terrarum ; but rather of a Roman Church which is its part of that erring world, and open to the arguments, as to fallibility which apply to that world.

The truth is that the Reformation—even when we allow for all attendant evils, which were not more than those in the Roman Church itself—was an inevitable, necessary and beneficent stage in the religious and secular growth of Europe, and, by its effects, in that of the world.

No one with historical knowledge fails to appreciate the great and necessary part which Rome has played, and plays, in history. "Whenever the Church failed, barbarism supervened in the Dark Ages. . . . Relatively to Pagan Rome, to Renaissance Europe, relatively to the splendour of the Middle Ages, the Dark Ages [410-1066] seem materially degraded. But the difference of level is insignificant compared with that between the Christian of the Dark Ages and the Pagan barbarian at his side, or the barbarism into which districts *did* fall when the Church was absent."¹

"The Popes educated the monarchy of Europe in its youth ; they literally *made* it."²

There is truth in this. The Papacy, inheriting the sceptre of Imperial Rome, and wielding it with a fuller, spiritual, sanction, was needed if medieval Europe was to survive. Yet the eulogies of Belloc and De Maistre need qualification. The Papacy was not serenely apart from, but was a part of, Europe, and its effects were a mingling of good and bad. In regard to England, for example, Innocent III not only annulled Magna Carta, but—"A supplementary bull, of one day's late date, reminded the barons that the suzerainty of England belonged to Rome, and that therefore nothing could be done in England without papal consent."³ For generations this conflict between the Crown of England and the excessive Papal claims went on intermittently until the accident of Henry VIII's matrimonial difficulties brought crisis and separation.

It was to a great extent similar in continental Europe. In the South, indeed, we had that terrible product, the Inquisition. For this institution Mr. Belloc, in his preface to Hoffman Nickerson, put forward the special plea that at worst it was akin, in principle, to the modern bureaucratic State. "Had you presented to the early thirteenth century the spectacle of the whole male population medically examined, registered, and forcibly drafted into a life where a chance error might be punished immediately by death or by some other terrible punishment . . . ; had you sketched for him our universal spy system whereby a strong modern central Government holds down all its subjects as no Government of antiquity, however tyrannical, ever held them down ;—could you have shown a man of the

¹ Hilaire Belloc, *Hist. of England* (1925), I. 142.

² De Maistre, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

³ W. S. McKechnie, *Magna Charta* (1914), p. 46.

thirteenth century all this, he would have felt the same repulsion and horror which most modern men feel on reading of the Inquisition, its objects and its methods."¹

This special plea seems based on confused logic. It assumes that, if the "man of the thirteenth century" had had a prevision of our modern evils, he would have been seeing something into which the Catholic system, in which he himself lived, would not have developed. Yet, after all, if we nowadays have "examinations," "registrations," "terrible punishments," "spies," *etc.*, the principle underlying such things is surely not such as would have been very much abhorred by a medieval Church policy which involved torture ("the question"), serfdom, feudalism, the stake, and secret denunciations! Had Europe's religious unity with Rome remained unbroken then what probability is there that we should not have had, not our own evils only, but those evils (or many of them) wedded to an all-pervading spiritual despotism—that conjunction being horrible indeed? "It was not the fault of the Church that the secular power admired and imitated the methods of the Holy Office; but it is surely a calamity that it should have been able to find in an ecclesiastical tribunal a system which must seem to every fair-minded man to-day so abhorrent to the whole spirit and tenor of the Christian Gospel."²

The Papal system, in short (necessary in medieval times, and largely beneficial, though it was) is an exaggeration; and its growth, due to natural circumstances, can be traced as fully as that of any other human institution. To accept it as supernaturally instituted or as having miraculous claims on our obedience is not only to fly in the face of history, but also to commit the logical error of seeking a supernatural explanation when a natural one will cover the facts.

The special Roman appeal is to the human desire for certitude. This is faith; an intellectual belief; the assent of the mind to certain truths; the acceptance of whatever doctrines God has taught, simply because He has taught them."³ And we are to know which doctrines those are, by the teaching of the Roman Church: "A priest is not airing his own private sentiments or opinions when unfolding Christian doctrine, but is the official spokesman of that Church which was, by a special act of creation, set up by God to be the organ of His revelation to men. His voice is the voice of the historic Church of Christ, of the primitive Church, of the Church of the Apostles, of the Apostles themselves who drank in their instruction from the very lips of Jesus Christ Himself."⁴

By accepting this standard, we become, it is said, *certain*. As an enthusiastic Roman convert says:⁵ "Some men will say to you:

¹ H. Nickerson, *The Inquisition* (1923), p. xvi.

² A. S. Turberville, *Mediæval Heresy and the Inquisition* (1920), p. 242.

³ Bishop H. G. Graham, *What Faith Really Means* (1914), pp. 12-13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

⁵ Mde. H. Mink-Jullien, *The Ways of God* (trans. Goldschild; 1925), p. 124.

'Who told you that?'—'God.'—'How?'—'Through His Church.'—'Prove it.'—'I believe it.' And that will suffice. . . . *God told me this through His Church; I believe it.* Let that be the form of your personal *credo*."

"The certitude of the fact of Revelation must be in keeping with the firmness required by Faith. . . . [It must be] a certitude excluding all doubt and fear of error—a certitude sufficient to place a reasonable man under the *obligation* of adhering to it." This though, it is admitted that "proofs of the fact of Revelation may admit *unreasonable* dissent."¹

Is not this theory clearly fallacious? If faith is a supernatural illumination of the individual mind, its effect could be produced *per se* and would not necessarily need any infallible Papacy to tell us what is true. The two *might* go together—but do not *logically* do so; and the effects of the one cannot be credited to the other. On the other hand, the testimony of no Church can be such as to produce certainty so clear that there can be no reasonable dissent. Its evidences, after all, are only appeals to real or alleged matters of fact, and "relative evidence cannot produce "absolute conviction."

Yet the claim of the Roman Church is that no one can be justified in relinquishing belief in her doctrines. "Heresy is a sin because, by its nature, it is destructive of the virtue of Christian faith," and both heretics and apostates "incur excommunication, reserved *speciali modo* to the Sovereign Pontiff. They incur, moreover, the note of 'infamy.'"

The whole theory is based on mistaken reasoning. Evidences are offered to us to prove the Roman Catholic Church to be true. The mere fact of offering evidences shows that it is a matter for reasonable discussion *pro* and *contra*. If so, it is mere begging of the question to say it is a sin to disbelieve. That is the very matter in dispute! The fact is the Papal claims are disproportionate to the proofs offered in their support; and, in any case, anyone who accepts them simply exercises his private judgment. He has an equal right, and duty, to relinquish them if he finds he made a mistake in accepting them.

Consideration of these claims, however, shows both the need of the Reformation and the key to the problem of Christian reunion.

The Reformation was, and still is, necessary because the exaggerated development of the Roman claims was such as to make them intolerable if imposed upon the world at large. "The abuses under which Christendom groaned were too inveterate, too firmly entrenched, and too profitable, to be removed by any but the sternest and sharpest remedies."

Excessive, as we have seen, in the spiritual domain, and enforced there, by sanctions leading naturally to the Inquisition, the Papacy

¹ Wilhelm and Scannell, *Manual of Cath. Theology* (1890), I, 126. (Italics present writer's).

² Dr. J. Wilhelm and Prof. A. van Hoyer, *Cath. Ency.*, VII, 257, and I, 625.

³ Dr. H. C. Lea, in *Cambridge Modern Hist.*, I, 691.

claims were excessive also in the temporal domain, and led to claims constantly resisted by the State. In England, for example: "Protests . . . were made by Egfrid, King of Northumberland, and his successor King Alfred, on occasion of the first great appeal to Rome; King Edward the Confessor, by Henry the First, and succeeding sovereigns; and the same spirit which dictated these remonstrances, declared itself publicly and legislatively in the *Constitutions of Clarendon*, A.D. 1164; and again, A.D. 1246; in the *Statute of Carlisle*, A.D. 1297; in the *Articles of the Clergy*; in the *Statutes of Provisors*, A.D. 1350, A.D. 1363, and A.D. 1389; of *Mortmain* and *Præmunire*, A.D. 1391-2; and, finally, in the Statutes of Henry VIII, from A.D. 1531 to A.D. 1543."¹

It must not be supposed that the doctrine of the famous Bull *Unam Sanctam*, issued in the early fourteenth century by Boniface VIII, has been abandoned; that teaching being that "under the control of the Church are two swords . . . the spiritual and the secular . . .; the spiritual is wielded in the Church by the hand of the clergy; the secular is to be employed for the Church by the hand of the civil authority, but under the direction of the spiritual power."² This in fact, merely the ordinary teaching of the Church, and, as such, was solemnly re-affirmed, in our own day, by Pope Leo XIII.³ "Although, in the extraordinary condition of these times, the Church usually acquiesces in certain modern liberties—not because she prefers them in themselves, but because she judges it expedient to permit them—she would" (said that Pope) "in happier times exercise her own liberty." Since then, the profession of one religion is necessary to the State, that religion must be professed which alone is true, and which can be recognized without difficulty, especially in Catholic States." "Union and concord should be maintained between them [the Roman Catholic Church and the civil power]: each, in its own sphere, being supreme; with this condition: that, on those questions which are of common right and authority, the secular power should depend on the heavenly power." "If the State's laws are clearly opposed to the Divine law, if they command what is against religious duties; or if they violate, in the person of the Supreme Pontiff, the authority of Jesus Christ; then indeed it is a duty to resist—a crime to obey."

Clearly the teaching of the Church to-day comes no way short of that of Innocent and Hildebrand; and, of that teaching, this is true: If once it be admitted that the Church, represented by the Pope, possesses a directive power over the civil ruler, and may take cognizance of his acts judicially in case of alleged error, the independence of the two principles, however affirmed in words, is in fact overthrown. Such prerogative is capable of indefinite extension. It may be [indeed,

¹ Bishop Ch. Wordsworth, *Theophilus Anglicanus* (1857), p. 186.

² Prof. Kirsch, in *Cath. Ency.*, XV. 126.

³ Encyclicals *Arcanum Divinæ* (1880), and *Sapientiæ Christianæ* (1890).

constantly has been and is] so exercised as to be a means of perpetual interference with the ordinary administration of civil affairs."¹ The only difference between now and the Innocentian and Hildebrand times is that the political condition of the world now does not allow such claims to be put into force on a great scale; and that fact is due to the Reformation, meaning by "the Reformation" not any particular school of theology but the movement away from medieval theocracy.

The historical growth of the Papacy is clear. Four landmarks therein mark it as purely natural—the Councils of Nicæa, Constantinople, Trent, and the Vatican. At Nicæa—the first and perhaps greatest of the Christian Councils—not only did the Pope not preside, either personally or by delegation, but his legates took second place after the nominee of the Emperor.² At Constance, after the growth due to the lapse of many ages, the Papacy has risen to great power, but is still subordinate to Councils. At Trent, it has risen yet higher, but is still not absolute. At the 1870 Vatican Council, absolutism is reached, and a clear contradiction is found between the 1870 Council and that of Constance. Even if we assume (which we do not, except "for the sake of argument") that certain theories can be devised to lessen that contradiction, yet they are mere theories, and the Papal claims would remain, at best, doubtful. They could not demand our allegiance as to a power Divinely instituted as an infallible guide.

With regard to Christian reunion, it is an error to build (as the present writer long tried to, but has had to abandon) theories on the assumption that a highly centralized organization is the true ideal. That assumption is the fallacy that there is no medium between anarchy and autocracy. The Papacy was a natural development of the Middle Ages, but is not the true Catholic, or Christian, goal. The separated bodies of followers of Christ should cultivate mutual charity according to the measure of truth which each possesses, and using also the light which comes from others. Thus, more and more, will they approach nearer and nearer together. In that process the institutions which were formed in our own English Reformation may have a special part to play. The *via media* may be a *via ad Deum* in a very real sense.

Of course, it is necessary to remember always that we live in the twentieth century, not the sixteenth, and that our efforts should be guided by receptivity of all the light—and increased knowledge and catholicity—of our times. It is vain, however, to think that progress will come of any policy which seeks to "undo the Reformation." That movement was not a futility, but a necessary stage in evolution; and we must follow out the spiritual liberty which—however faultily, for the times were faulty—it brought and has handed down to us.

J. W. POYNTER.

¹ Rev. W. H. Jervis, *Hist. of the Church of France* (1872), I. 56.

² Dom J. Chapman, O.S.B., *The First Eight Councils and Papal Infallibility* (1901), pp. 10-11.

IN DEFENCE OF THE NON-CHURCHGOER.

If we could take a census of the people in the churches next Sunday morning the result would be so disconcerting that it would be better not to publish the figures. I heard the Rev. Hubert Simpson say the other day that within ten years Marylebone Presbyterian Church should either become a picture palace or a great strategic centre of spiritual life. Many churches cannot go on as they are. They are putting up a very gallant fight, trying hard not to die. Under these circumstances—which should be regarded not as a cause for panic but as a challenge to action—is there anything to be said for the millions of non-churchgoers?

First of all, it may be said that they do not like church buildings and they hate pews. We discovered this years ago. I remember two great churches in Birmingham and Southport which, while their own buildings were being renovated, engaged public halls for Sunday services. These halls were twice as big as the churches, but they were crowded to the doors on Sunday nights. The poor deacons were frightened out of their lives. "What shall we do with all these people, when we get back to the church?" they cried. They need not have worried. When they went back the two churches were far from full. Even to-day, while churches with very able preachers are not half full, Wesleyan Central Halls—sometimes with preachers of mediocre gifts—are crowded or well filled.

Now there is something to be said for the people who prefer a lift-up at in a hall to a pew in a church. No one can deny that a church is a very uncomfortable place or that there is something hard, unaccommodating and inhospitable about a pew. Also churches are not very clean. Put a new hat under a pew and see what it is like when it comes out. There is no reason whatever—beyond laziness and inertia—why churches should not provide a cloak-room for hats and overcoats. It would cost them nothing, for some good honest woman could always be found to look after it on the understanding that she retained the keys. But there is another reason why people prefer halls to churches. The seats are free and unreserved, and you can sit where you like without waiting for a sidesman to patronize and direct you. Hugh Price Hughes once created a small newspaper sensation by declaring that he would tolerate no sidesman at St. James's Hall unless he had well-dressed trousers. It was, of course, a joke. What he meant, however, was no joke—he had the common sense to insist that his stewards should be polite, attractive, genial young men. A friend of mine was once rudely and deliberately pushed by a sidesman in one of the most important Nonconformist churches in Central London, and he quite naturally resolved that he would never enter the place again. The

atmosphere of some churches is gloomy and frigid enough already—we need not add to the depression by allowing youth to be chilled and alienated by stiff and pompous sidesmen. The minister of a small but extremely wealthy church in Scotland—which was never quite full—warned me that if I ever attempted to come and hear him preach I would first of all have to climb over barbed-wire entanglements. In a church which I once knew very well the sidesmen were so systematically rude that some of the office bearers invited them to a little social in order that the minister might talk to them firmly. But he was one of the kindest and most tender-hearted of men—he would not have hurt the feelings of a garrotter—and at the last moment he funked the job, gave a little devotional address, and the sidesmen, slightly elevated by the attention they had received and were more objectionable than ever. I have been in passport offices, in post offices; I have been to see civil servants; I have even asked a head waiter for a glass of water; but for lofty patronage and cool arrogance you cannot beat some church ushers. It would be a distinct improvement if we could substitute bright, lively, pretty girls for this work—that is if such girls are to be found in churches to-day. I must honestly admit that I know of a few churches that are extraordinarily lucky—they have sidesmen without any side!

There would be more people in church on Sunday morning if the service commenced at 11.30. For six days a week, during nearly six months of the year, millions of workers get up in the dark. They have breakfast in the dark—a hurried, miserable, thoroughly unsatisfactory meal. Just as it is getting light they rush off to a cold, dirty railway station to catch an overcrowded train. Are you going to blame the people if on Sunday they get up later and enjoy a more leisurely breakfast? I used to see hundreds of people rushing along suburban roads at 10.58 on Sunday morning, pulling on their gloves and chewing the last bit of breakfast. I never see them now. Rather than arrive late they don't go at all.

There is one non-churchgoer I would not condemn too hastily. I mean the man who wants to play with his children. All the week he goes off to work early and returns too often when the children are in bed. If he wants to devote himself to them on Sunday, or during part of Sunday, I think he is to be encouraged rather than criticized. For two or three years a little girl who had kindly adopted me as an uncle used to come round and play with me for two hours every Sunday morning, and she did me much more good than many services. It is true I was on church premises from 3 to 10, but the most popular preachers in the world could not have drawn me away from that dear kiddie on Sunday mornings.

The Church, of course, will say that whatever you think of preachers and however much you dislike pews, you ought to go to church to

ship God. I think Nonconformist churches should be rather careful how far they push this argument because, if it is necessary to go to church to worship God, why do Nonconformist churches limit your opportunity for worship to three hours on one day a week? A man may presumably want to worship God quite as much on Wednesday afternoon as on Sunday morning, but if he does, and if he can only do so in a church, he will almost certainly have to go to a Roman Catholic church. His own church will be locked and barred. I once heard Mr. Orchard say that on three occasions he had had a rich religious experience but only once did it happen in church. Once it came to him while walking down Oxford Street. I believe most Christian people would admit that a real and memorable religious experience may happen anywhere, and it is much more likely to come to them on the deck of a liner at midnight or at sunrise on a mountain than during a sermon in a chapel. All the same there is something in mass enthusiasm and religious communion and comradeship that would prevent one of us from ever being able to do without the services of the church.

Is the non-churchgoer kept away by poor preaching? I very much doubt it, for the modern mind, deadened by the canned music and tinned talk of the wireless and corrupted by the crude, lurid, and wildly impossible melodrama of the cinema, would be very unlikely to know good preaching if it heard it. I should say the modern preacher is by all means inferior to the preacher of thirty years ago—but he is entirely different. The old preachers took possession of the pulpit, the service, and the congregation like an army with banners. They preached with tremendous conviction, blazing sincerity, and overwhelming authority. The modern preacher is just as sincere—but his sincerity is not at white heat. He has not the same authority, because he does not possess the same certainty. He is thus more insinuating than aggressive. He is talented, deft, workmanlike—but he does not quicken the pulse or stir the heart. His technique is flawless; he does everything competently, but his feet are firmly on the ground and he does not soar towards the stars. How surprised and embarrassed he would be if somebody got converted!

We should stand a better chance of getting hold of the man in the street if we ever went down his street; men and women are inclined to be shy of Nonconformity because it shows them so little friendship. I think the Free Churches ought to give some attention to parochial machinery. A working man who was at home unwell for some time told me how every day he saw the Roman Catholic priest, the Anglican priest, and the good, patient, devoted sisters going up and down the mean streets eager to succour and help the poor and the sick. "But," he said, "I never saw the Nonconformist ministers down those streets."

At a Labour meeting some years ago a working man, carried away by the reading of the Sermon on the Mount shouted: "Three cheers for Jesus Christ," and the crowd responded with rapturous enthusiasm. I would love to see the deathly decorum of some church disturbed by an incident like that. I am certain that many people keep aloof from the Church because of the coldness and formalism of its services. Why should we not applaud the sermon if we feel like doing it? I have noticed sometimes that a minister who is dull and uninspiring in the pulpit becomes a different man on a platform faced by a thrilling crowd of excited, cheering men and women. He lets himself go and catches fire. When the old Methodists shout "Glory be to God! Hallelujah!" they not only cheered up the preachers; they themselves felt better. Preachers make their congregations laugh, and it is considered quite creditable to make them cry; will any one say why it is an intolerable thing to make them cheer? At all events, it is better than sending them to sleep. In St. Peter's, Rome, when the Pope enters with great pomp and imposing ceremony the vast multitude shouts its ecstatic, passionate cheers, and no one considers that order and decorum are outraged. On the contrary the joyous, exultant self-abandonment warms and uplifts the soul.

Then there was the war. The man in the street, whatever he thought of the Church, rather expected it to stick to the Ten Commandments, and when the Church in August, 1914, took the Commandment "Thou shalt not kill," folded it up and put it away on a top shelf for four years, the man in the street wondered and was rather shocked and began to ask whether the other Commandments could not also be conveniently suppressed to meet the exigencies of the hour.

I think there is something to be said for the non-churchgoer.

* * *

It is Sunday night. The rain is beating at the windows and outside it is very cold. But I get tired of this restless, grinning, despairing, money-ridden world. It may be that the invisible, invisible world is the only reality. *I am going to Church.*

F. A. ATKINS.

HAVE WE A GOSPEL BIG ENOUGH FOR TO-DAY?

CHRISTIANITY originally was nothing other than a Gospel. It was a proclamation of the kingdom of God at hand. With a rich institutional stem for its background it was in itself and by contrast, as Helier¹ pointed out, an authoritative call to men to realize the dominion of God over all the might of evil, sin, suffering, and death. Two things were asked of men—faith in the forgiving and redeeming love of the Father, and a surrender to Him in a life of service, self-denial and love. Simple as it was, clear and simple in its demand, and yet, from another angle, filled with a mighty mystery, and of all things most difficult. Now let men say what they will about the complicated world of thought in which Paul moves, and the forms of speech which he uses: beneath the surface, and upon the deepest ground, the Gospel he proclaims is at one with all that. The kingdom, it is true, is now absorbed in the Christ. For the proclamation of the kingdom he preaches the Gospel about Whom it all gathers, and upon whom it all depends. Once the demands of faith and repentance are presented. For a firm and joyous faith is the real dynamic of Paul, and such radical repentance expresses itself in a new life of righteousness and holiness. But as he goes on the complications in thought already present in Paul, and the complications in the organization of the growing society, multiply. The temptation to become preoccupied with the forms of things thrusts itself forward, and men succumb to it. The evangelical note, and indeed the evangelical life, gets pressed back. The gospel melody is drowned in a fearful and fantastic fugue. The legal element comes to the fore. Literal faith is reduced to ideas, or to clattering activities, and the vast differences between men and times are so stressed that they obscure the consciousness of a Gospel that from its inception is for all men and all time. And what can it avail us now, for instance, to be nicely discussing the differences between Paul's idea of slavery or of marriage, or his ideas of women bobbing their hair, and so emphasizing the difference between his ideas and ours in these matters, as to miss the fundamental matter in which we are at one—the matter of our weakness and our failure in the moral world by way of omission or commission, both, and of Christ's sole sufficiency in that world. This temptation to "inspect the mite, and not comprehend the heaven," is something to which again and again our attention needs to be drawn. For the secular spirit creeps on established religion everywhere, and Milman points out² that in doctrine, established religion always tends to legalism, *i.e.*, to that type of doctrine in which God counts for nothing and man for most. We cannot preach a Gospel big enough when

¹ *Der Katholismus*, c. viii.

² *Latin Christianity*, I. 149.

we are at this level, for we either play upon the surface rather than to the heart of the matter, or we are so filled with ourselves, our progress, our culture, our mechanical appliances, that the sense of a God Who has already done what He only could do for us, and Who is still mightier than we do for us, grows dull, and we are tempted to put more stress upon the wealth of advertisement to attract the world than to trust the inherent greatness and glory of the Gospel itself.

Protestantism is admittedly distracted. Its curse is in its contradictions. In some quarters it is threatened by a riotous individualism, and in other quarters a stress all too human is placed upon fellowship and social ethics. In some quarters it dissolves into intellectualism, and in others is a sheer chaos of religious sentiment. Meanwhile we are faced with a Catholic revival, which is variously interpreted. So we imagine that everything is said when it is attributed to "reaction from the War." Happy phrase!—the convenient receptacle into which we cast so much that we do not really want to think through! Sometimes it is attributed to a tendency in man to take the line of least resistance—that men accept an external authority in religious matters as the simpler course in times of distraction. There is truth in this without a doubt. Many have declared that Protestantism puts too great a strain upon the average man. But, admitting this, is it a sufficient account of the matter? May it not be that despite all veils and transformations, that behind all the forms and accretions that the Reformers attacked, behind the sacerdotalism, and behind the materialism of the mass, may it not yet be that the satisfaction which Catholicism offers is in certain evangelical elements found there though mingled with much else and hindered in divers ways from coming to full freedom of expression? May it not be that Catholicism is great despite itself? If such be the case, it is no use facing it with protests merely; we must face it with a positive Gospel. We must speak of more than intellectual freedom, and be wise even when we speak of spiritual liberty. Mere freedom as such may characterize a debating club, even as a spirit of fellowship may characterize the camaraderie of convicts or the fellowship of fools. Christian freedom is the freedom of freed men, of men made free—and that in more directions than one—by faith in Christ, even as the only fellowship that counts is the fellowship in and by His spirit.

The proclamation is and was of a kingdom entered by faith in the redeeming and holy love of God—of a kingdom presented to the world in Jesus Christ, and offered there for our acceptance. Of all the prophetic cries we need to hear, this one we need most—"Behold your God"! It is the God actually there in the life and death, and the living again of Jesus Christ, in Whom all our hope lies, for it is that God Who saves, and not we ourselves, strive though we will. The kingdom is His before it is ours, even as the whole universe is His, and we are ourselves within it—for all our kinship with Him—are still His creatures.

hence more our curse is in our contractions—our refusal to put man upon the background of God, and this life upon the background of eternity. thereby we lose perspective, and must needs also lose heart.

One of the things that hinders a big Gospel and an authoritative angelical note is a false and riotous individualism. The contrast between the individual and society is not absolute, but Protestantism has put its emphasis upon the individual as "the fundamental thing," with an intense regard for personality, and the rich and full development of it, it called, and still calls, men to come into fellowship with God by faith in Jesus Christ, each one for himself, and that in so doing shall exercise mind, heart and will of his own. It does not ask for an easy acquiescence, still less for immediate surrender to experts in sacramental or theological matters, as the primal thing. But it calls men first to a committal to Christ, and then to exercise the right of private judgment concerning Him and themselves in all their relationships. But this right, like many another, is open to great abuse. It has been abused; it still is abused. Either from the way in which it has been presented, or from native sluggishness, it is popularly interpreted as meaning that a man is free to think as he pleases, or as he fancies. Sometimes in this vein men brush aside all mediatorial religion. Under false stress the mighty and mysterious greatness of Jesus is reduced to some facet of His character, or exhausted by an experience of one kind, and sometimes not too deep a one at that. These reductions are our bane. A man is not free to think as he fancies. The New Testament is there as one condition of his freedom at least; there is a line of witnesses through the ages for another. To cut ourselves off from all this is to perish. More enlargement by way of reference to the historic past, and within it to the great ones of Protestantism, is a corrective we constantly need. And how misleading it is when we find a man who formulates Protestant principle in some such way as this: "Luther spoke straight out to every individual, man and woman, poor and rich alike; he taught everyone to find peace in his own heart. No man was to look outside himself for a master; the Master, God, was in his own heart." That contains the deadly poison of a half-truth. Mere nodding acquaintance with Luther and historical Protestantism generally reveals the fact that it stands for the unique mediatorship of Jesus Christ, and puts no faint and trembling accent upon that word "unique." God is what He is there. Historical Protestantism has not taught that any man could choose his way to God by any road he liked, as though all roads led equally to Him. When it comes also to the interpretation of Jesus, how readily we fasten on this or that quality to the exclusion of all others, and how we dwell upon this or that experience, without taking account of any other! Yet Jesus is not exhausted in His strength, or in His gentleness, or in both. He is more, even as He is surely greater than Oliver Cromwell or Francis of Assisi, or both combined. And true as it may be that a man interprets Christ

by his experience, and that the experience colours the interpretation from the point of view of holding up to this world a commanding Saviour and a big Gospel, this is the essential thing, that before a man interprets Him from his experience, God has already interpreted the need of that man and of all others in the person of His Son adequately, and in that sense, finally. To combat all subjectivity, and the resting of Protestantism on any native narrowness of thought or shallowness of experience, or experience of only one kind, the great proclamation is that in the unspeakable greatness of Jesus Whom we are constantly liable to reduce, God meets the spiritual needs of all mankind. Upon that we must dwell as we gather for worship, and as we witness before the world. We cannot think as we please, or as we fancy. Our freedom is conditioned by the wide work God has already achieved in the souls of men by His Son.

Another thing that hinders a big Gospel with a joyous and authoritative proclamation is a smothering intellectualism. There is an ultra-liberalism that departs so far from the base that all communication is cut off, and it perishes in the wilderness. Such ultra-liberalism is the final reduction of Christianity, reducing it to nothing. It can scarcely say Jesus Christ. A thin spirituality and an insistence upon ethics is, however, something very different from the Christian proclamation, for the latter has *δύναμις*—the great word of the New Testament—which we miss in the former. Object as we may—and rightly—to the Fundamentalists for the sheer literalists that they are, they are not the only literalists. There are others who traffic exclusively in the letter; who think they exhaust the Christian Gospel in word forms, in more or less happy conjectural emendations, or who put more trust in logic and speculation than in the illumination of the Holy Spirit. This matter of dwelling upon the positive value of the New Testament is highly important. When it comes to attitude, the poet-cotter whom Burns has portrayed reverently, expectingly, and prayerfully handling the Scriptures, however great his ignorance of many matters in them may be, is preferable to that of one very much *au fait* with modern psychology and clinics, who jauntily raises as the important matter some such question as to whether Paul might not have got rid of all the demons and ended his troubles by means of some purgative draught. For the cotter still believes that God speaks by the Scriptures as nowhere else, and he approaches them as one who hears the voice of God speaking directly through them to his soul. So much depends upon one's attitude here. "By the time Loisy wrote his *Gospel and the Church*, his corrosive and unsympathetic thinking had left him with a tradition of Jesus so slender as to have no attraction for the heart, and perhaps for that reason he falls back more abjectly upon the Church. . . . Alas for the dream that cheered Jesus and Paul of a law in the heart!"¹ After all, the New Testament was written by

¹ Macgregor, *Christian Freedom*, p. 396.

men who had a living faith in God's work for the world in Jesus Christ, and it must be read as such, and it can only be understood by men who amidst intellectual difficulties of many kinds are mastered by the overwhelming greatness of the personality of Jesus Christ, who hear amidst all a voice—"Blessed are they who are not confounded in Me." The New Testament is a correlation of word and spirit still to be read by men of a quick and living faith, and its records are so fundamental and distinct that whatever men may say concerning the inspiration of Goethe or Wordsworth, a wise and discerning Church will still exclude these from the canon, for when these work such works as the Scriptures, under the illumination of the Holy Spirit, have worked it will be time enough to declare them equally inspired. It is folly at this time of day to detract from a sound knowledge of history, or deny the worth of textual criticism, and we must have sympathetic regard to those who know "the wounds of reason." We cannot pass them by, thinking of our own security or lacking an intellectual conscience, yet when it comes to stress, as Heim¹ points out, our faith is not an idea or principle or even a world outlook, but a living God and a surrender to Him in His Son as He is revealed to us in the New Testament, apart from which we should not know what God was like. There is this grave danger, that a man may be so preoccupied with intellectual interests as to lose sight of Jesus Himself, and of the whole community of the saints, with whose experience he must nevertheless argue, and which he must embrace as his only sound outlook on life. For the prime demand is still as it was, not for intellectual consistency any more than for the satisfaction of sentiment or romantic charm, but for a committal to Him Who declared His life for those who trust Him utterly. And "to measure truly the Christianity of any age, we must ask how far it grasps God's gift, not how eagerly or finely it seeks it. It is not lack of religiosity that fails the Church; it is the lack of a Gospel and a faith, the lack of spiritual authority and response to it."² An undue stress upon the intellect is not, as many readily suppose, an expansion, but really a contraction, and an ignorance of a far more disastrous kind than that of any such man as Burns's cotter.

Another thing that hinders a big Gospel is a disproportionate stress upon social ethics, with which there often goes a widespread irreligion, which means not simply the neglect of personal religion, but even the contempt of it, so that men cry "What is the use of worship? What is the good of prayer?" The sense of reliance upon the super-historic Christ fails while activities multiply and we have machinery almost to the point of disutility—as the economist might say. As if all movement were necessarily progress! This is not the first age to have its burning questions. Many a sharp one concerning matters of taxation, respective rights of property, whether money should be spent on Jesus or given to

¹ *Glaube und Leben*, p. 536.

² Forsyth, *Person and Place of Jesus Christ*, p. 23.

the poor, are raised in the Gospels. It was in such an age when questions were rife that Nicodemus approached Jesus to learn what things were necessary for man's salvation. And scarcely had he raised the question before he was thrust into an actuality beyond his grasp. Perhaps a thrust of that kind is what we need amidst the many great questions that we raise to-day. There are conditions of right vision of the kingdom, and of sound knowledge of the will of God. These are not the simple things that some people conceive them to be. All too quickly and too lightly we may call down the sanction of God upon our schemes or policies, and may claim the great name of Christ for our own prejudices or love of party. Travail of soul is as necessary as ever before we can have clear vision or strength to follow the gleam. Certainly the Christian ethic must be preached and demanded. The individual and the community must definitely realize how huge a hindrance to the kingdom a low ethic is. But when all is said that can legitimately be said about the Christian ethic, the Gospel has to deal primarily with God and man, and with man and man as a consequence of that. It is a Gospel filled with the mighty mystery of His dealings and transformations in the souls of men. It is a matter of putting oneself right with Him, and the Gospel which speaks of God's infinite love in redeeming and reconciling the world to Himself is a vaster thing than whether a man has a shilling more or less on the wages sheet, or whether the sanitary condition here, or the water supply there, is all that is desirable—though of course it may rightly include all these things. And once it comes to this basal matter of men putting themselves right with Him, it is not they who determine what is necessary, or what should be the conditions and the terms. It is He surely Who has determined that. The modern tendency seems to be that we can start with an idea of God. Even when he is called Father we need care in the use of that figure, for the word may imply a very modern father indeed. "Dear old Daddy, he won't mind. If we offend him we can coax him or work him round." Or we take Him to be so like a portrait of ourselves that oftentimes our self-satisfaction is our own justification before Him. But really we know very little of God save as He is revealed in Jesus Christ, concerning Whom, as we handle the New Testament, we cannot but observe thus and thus did God deem necessary for our salvation, bearing the sin and shame of the world, and yet reconciling it to Himself. God is what He is there; only He can do justice to Himself; only His spirit can interpret His own greatness; and when it comes to the matter of our having a Gospel big enough for to-day, we must grasp that it is something bigger than a message for the time. The Gospel is for all time. We must include in it men of different types and generations, even as it includes within its scope men like Augustine, Anselm, Luther and Calvin. The exhaustion of the Gospel in the social problem is another instance of the way in which we cut down the seamless robe of the Lord, trim it to suit the transient mood of

the hour, and for sheer commonsense the pagan soldiers under the cross rebuke us every time. Apart from Christ all our doing is a deadly thing. Despite Froude's criticism of the evangelicals of his day we are face to face, now as then, with the impotence of men, even in this matter of the social problem, to see clearly and to deal rightly with each other. Unlike for the perception of duty, and for the ability to perform it—which is so much more than mere perception—the Gospel calls men to their need of Jesus Christ. No-one will accuse Browning¹ of antinomianism, yet he puts the facts of our situation thus :

“ To have to do with nothing but the True,
 The good, the eternal, and these not alone
 In the main current of the general life
 But small experiences of every day
 Concerns of particular hearth and home
 To learn not only by a comet's rush
 But by a rose's birth.
 Not by the grandeur of God
 But by the comfort Christ, all this how far away
 Mere delectation meet for a minute's dream
 Just as drudging student trims his lamp
 Opens his Plutarch, puts him in the place
 Of Roman, Grecian, draws the patched gown close,
 Dreams thus should I fight, save, or rule the world,
 Then smilingly, contentedly awakes
 To old solitary nothingness,
 So I from such communion pass content

O great, just, good God, miserable me.”

Here is the shattering of all proud dreams, as true surely of the social life as of the individual man when attempted simply in our own strength and that of racial egoism that leads the world captive to-day. We do not climb into the kingdom of God so much as we are lifted into it, and that by the putting forth of a vigorous faith. In all our discussions about new forms and finer systems of social life, we are driven back to the fundamental thing, to the individual man who lives in and by his faith in God, whose enlargement and wealth of service for his fellows finds its real dynamic there. The best machinery in the world fails lamentably unless it is controlled not simply by able, but by good men, and the good men from the Christian point of view are those who discover and re-discover in the majesty of Christ their own meanness, the riches of Christ their own poverty, in the holiness of Christ their own sin, and who realize that their redemption from meanness, poverty and sin is in their waiting upon One in Whom forgiveness of sin and eternal life are offered by God to the world.

Have we a Gospel big enough? Not while we linger in reductions of many kinds, and amidst many stresses lose the overwhelming sense

¹ *The Ring and the Book.*

of God's redeeming work for every son of man in the person of His Son. The commanding thing that, magnet-like, can reduce our chaos to order is the realization of *His* saving grace, the need of which we feel daily. We bring ourselves and all men into the presence of the colossal figure of Jesus—measuring ourselves there—sifting our schemes and plans there—testing our moral progress there. The declaration is that there alone do we come to One mighty to save. His is the power and the glory. For whether we see Him, or are blind, whether we receive His proffered kingdom or reject it, whether we obey or disobey His voice, in the last resort we are not our own, but still His, as surely as the earth is His, and all that therein is.

JOHN PHILLIPS.

AMBASSADORS OF IMMORTALITY.

SOME thoughts there are of such a dignity
 That but to sit with them within the mind
 Makes it the ante-chamber of a king.
 Thrice welcome are they when they come unbidden,
 For never singly do they come. They make
 A wide horizon in the mind. They bring
 Far kinships near, and make the stony walls
 Of mortal circumscription to recede.
 Theirs is the bearing of ambassadors
 Who many courts have seen and know the way
 Of kings. And sometimes in a silent space
 Their vesture shines, and in a trice they go.
 These advents lend such majesty to life
 That we, bereaved of their great company,
 Acknowledge with bowed hearts our sinfulness,
 And, cleansed with penitence our sight, we see
 Something of that same light in common men.

Come, Light of Heaven, illumine this dungeoned soul
 And with emancipating power dispel
 The fears that gather thickly in the gloom.

A. LANDON.

RADICALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM.

In this paper I try to shew that, while Fundamentalism is impossible for the modern mind, the modern Radical tendency, being rationalistic and undogmatic, is not a modern equivalent of historic Christianity.

In 1917 there was celebrated in Germany a "Luther-jubilee." This was accompanied by a vast output of literature dealing with Luther and his message to the present day. Professor Grisar, S. J., of Innsbruck, the famous biographer of Luther,¹ has published an annotated bibliography of this literature²; and strange reading it makes. "A picture of present day Protestantism" is Dr. Grisar's subtitle: it includes the view that the Reformation should more properly be styled the "Deformation," as well as views of the historicity of the work of Jesus Christ which, as Dr. Grisar points out, would have met with Luther's most indignant repudiation. The learned Jesuit at least demonstrates the profound cleavages which exist within the Protestant ranks, and some real ground is afforded for the Catholic argument that Protestantism leads inevitably to chaos, subjectivism, and unbelief.

In England there has been a great drawing together of the Protestant Churches, and at first sight it appears that Protestants in England stand for a common faith and are loyal to the principles and traditions of the Reformation. But on close inspection it appears that the differences which divide modern Protestants cut across denominational boundaries. In America we see the issue clearly in the controversy between Fundamentalism and Modernism.

Fundamentalism, with its infallible authority, its inviolable dogma, its sturdy disrespect for modern science, lies open to most obvious criticism, and in England and America it has not, perhaps, been altogether fortunate in its sponsors.³ But as a religious movement it deserves more than the surprise and contempt which it has aroused in the minds of the so-called "Modernists"; moreover its recrudescence and advance are not to be explained merely by the dollars by which it is propagated, nor yet altogether by psychological explanations which ascribe it to post-war superstition or the craving for authority in days of change. Fundamentalists maintain that they are fighting for the essence of Christianity and of the Christian Gospel, and that "Modernism" is heading straight for unbelief. In this Catholicism

¹ *Martin Luther* (III Bände), Freiburg (1911).

² "Die Literatur des Luther-jubiläums, 1917. Ein Bild des heutigen Protestantismus." Innsbruck, 1918.

³ There is a very important quasi-Fundamentalist movement on the Continent headed with the names of Drs. Gogarten, Barth and Brunner. For an interesting study by Dr. Gustav Krüger see *Harvard Theol. Rev.* for 1926.

and Fundamentalism are at one. Modern Protestantism, they maintain, has rejected revelation, cut itself off from historic Christianity, and taken up a position of unbelief; its spiritual pedigree is to be traced not to the New Testament but to the Illumination or *Aufklärung*. *To a considerable extent this is true, and it constitutes the supreme religious issue in Europe and America to-day.*

Let it be admitted that the dogmas of Fundamentalism and Catholicism (which means Ultramontaniam) are inevitably unacceptable to the modern man.¹ If the reason is to be exercised in the search for truth, there is no hope that the reason will lead to the philosophy of Calvin or of St. Thomas Aquinas. That modern radicalism in theology has derived or borrowed much from Christianity is undoubtedly true, but it is more than probable that the modern radicals amongst whom are to be classed many who have little idea that the name really applies to them, have not realized how great a chasm divides their teaching from the teaching of the New Testament and the whole Church down to the period of the *Aufklärung*; for historic Christianity is based not upon reason but upon revelation, not upon philosophical theories but upon dogma.

The *Aufklärung* dates from the eighteenth century in England, and the seventeenth century on the Continent. It was a revolt against authority. As the Reformation had asserted the spiritual freedom of the Christian from the intervention of priest or Church, so the Illumination asserted the freedom of thought from the trammels of dogma and authority. It is hard to overestimate the importance of this, and there must be no putting back of the clock, as is required by Fundamentalism and Ultramontaniam. But the actual effect of the Illumination has been the repudiation of all "revelation" in the sense of the term.

The modern radical does not explicitly deny "revelation." He would gladly assert that in the sphere of the mind nothing is for which that is not also revealed, that discovery by man and revelation by God are two sides of the same attainment. But the difference between the old view of revelation and the new is nowhere more clear than in the sphere of apologetics. Modern radical apologetic seeks to show that the philosopher's own arguments will lead him to the (radical) Christian position. Fundamentalist and Ultramontaniam apologetic, on the other hand, seek only to prove that the dogmas of Christianity, which must be accepted and cannot be proved, are not repugnant to reason but stand in some intelligible relationship to the rest of human knowledge. The Fundamentalist maintains that, in rejecting the dogmatic theology of historic Protestantism, the Modernists have lost the Gospel. Beyond question the dogmatic theology of Calvin has been banished for good and all from modern thinking Protestantism.

¹ This paper is largely the outcome of thought upon the problems raised in *le F. Dogme et Critique*. (Paris: 6th ed., 1907.)

But does the old Gospel really remain when the old theology is gone? No doubt modern Protestantism supposes that it has a Gospel, but is it a Gospel which Bunyan or Watts or Luther or Paul would have considered such? What in fact is the Gospel which advanced Protestantism is proclaiming to-day?

II. In the first place, there is no generally accepted theology of any kind; Calvinism is dead though some of its phrases live, and no system has taken its place. While it is true that the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Divinity, of Christ, are asserted or at least not denied, each teacher may interpret much as he likes, and in this connexion it is more important to consider what are the topics and ideas actually treated in sermons and addresses than the more or less vague hinterland of inherited and accepted views. The following subjects are not very frequently treated in modern pulpits: "The wrath to come," "Redemption by the blood of Jesus," "Heaven," "Grace," "The empty tomb." These are amongst the themes most chosen in historic Protestantism for exposition and proclamation, and these are amongst those least prominent to-day. On the other hand, we hear much of the Fatherhood of God, of the brotherhood of man, of the example of Jesus Christ, of the social obligations and complications of Christianity—subjects for the most part too little or too incidentally treated in the older tradition. Clearly, if there has been change, it has not been all loss. The historical approach to the Scriptures has delivered Protestantism from a bondage to the Old Testament which undoubtedly went far to obscure the meaning of Christianity, and the careful modern critical work upon the New Testament has illuminated the life of Christ and the early history of the Church so much that we can now see the New Testament in certain aspects more clearly than any age since the earliest. There has been much gain. But does the modern steward of the divine mysteries bring out of his store-house things old as well as things new? In theory it is still "the faith once delivered to the saints" and now applied to modern needs and accommodated to modern thought. But in practice is it not in very many cases a new religion that is proclaimed?

Modern Protestantism asserts in emphatic tones the Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, the unique—or, at least, the unparalleled—place of Jesus Christ in history, the moving of the "Spirit" of God upon the hearts of men. These are in fact its "dogmas," and this is its faith. It is a religion, and a very high type of religion, but is it Christianity? It may be noted here that there is nothing which many religiously minded philosophers, many emancipated Hindus, many modern theosophists, would be concerned to deny. These dogmas are all drawn from historic Christianity, but they are the ideas to which most of the higher religions tend. There are, I believe,

many Christian missionaries who go to the "heathen" with substantially this creed; there are many Protestant pulpits where substantially this is the sum of the doctrine; there is a glow of feeling, there is ethical fervour, there is sincerity; there are metaphors taken from the Scriptures and traditional Christian theology; but is this really the modern expression of the old faith, or is it the truth underlying the old forms, or is it in fact a new religion altogether? The Fundamentalists maintain that it is a new religion which they style "unbelief"; Radicals maintain that it is the appropriate modern dress of "the faith once delivered to the saints." *The Fundamentalists are right that this Neo-Protestantism is not the religion of the New Testament and of historic Christianity.*¹

III. In large measure the point at issue is the old problem of "miracles" and "revelation." The discussion of individual wonders is only of secondary importance. If by a miracle is meant a breach of the natural order it is affirmed by historic Christianity and denied by the Radical, by whom a miracle cannot be believed unless it can be explained, which, in the case of a miracle, means disproved. Radical apologetics start from the philosophers' ground and the philosophers' assumptions; Christianity must be shown to be reasonable in the sense that its principles are attainable by the human reason aided by Divine grace, that is, by the human reason of the religious, prayerful thinker. To historic Christianity the Christian faith is "revealed" in quite a different sense; it is a truth, or series of truths, which no amount of philosophizing, however pious, nor argumentation, however devotional, could possibly attain. This revealed truth is not irreconcilable with reason, but is not derived from it; it must be accepted; and, moreover, this truth or series of truths does not belong to the sphere of general notion and abstract proposition; it is concerned with the interpretation of certain alleged *facts of history*—the birth, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ in the first century of our era.

Is Christianity based ultimately upon man's thoughts about God or upon God's actual working in history, upon what men have dreamed and thought or upon what God has done? This is a critical issue, and it is most clearly seen when put in the form of the question, would our faith be vitally affected if it were proved that the historical Christ was but a legendary figure? If it were proved that Christ never existed or that He was but a lay-figure upon whom more or less fortuitously Church tradition fastened, that in fact the Gospel picture of Him is fundamentally inaccurate, we should still have the New

¹ It will be understood that in describing this Neo-Protestantism I have in mind not particular teachers or denominations but a movement of thought and doctrine by which in greater or less degree our Free Church ministry is to-day profoundly influenced. Few preachers, it may be, would admit that this was all their message, but Neo-Protestantism, as described here, is at least the strong tendency of most preachers who are not called "old-fashioned."

testament, we should still have the thoughts upon God and man and destiny which the New Testament contains, we should still have the ethical teaching of Christ and the ideal picture there drawn for us of Him; truth is true whoever says it or does not say it. What difference does the "historicity" of Jesus Christ make to us? Few of our modern radicals, it is likely, would frankly admit that the historical Jesus is not necessary to their faith, but it is probably true that in fact their actual teaching and working creed would logically remain unaffected if the historicity of Jesus were disproved.

There can be no doubt as to the answer of historic Christianity to this question: If Jesus Christ as represented in the Gospels was not a historic figure, was not such as the Evangelists say He was, then He was not the only-begotten Son of God, He did not redeem us by His blood, He did not rise in triumph over death and sin, and beyond doubt our faith is vain.

The Modernist is disposed to answer that orthodoxy affords us a theological Christ, a Christ of theory and speculation, and that we must seek to pierce behind the Christ of theology to the "Jesus of History." This was a simple matter when the Jesus of the New Testament was contrasted with the Christ of tradition and theology; but Modernism has essayed another and far more temerarious task—to get behind the Jesus of the Gospels to the real Jesus, the "Jesus of History," beyond them.

It is increasingly recognized that even the first three Gospels present with the Jesus of the Church's faith, a figure human, but superhuman, Messiah, the Son of God. If Jesus was not this, we can only guess what He may have been; the modern studies of the life of Christ by various scholars and men of letters, Dr. von Harnack, Dr. Lake, Dr. Schweitzer, Dr. T. R. Glover, Mr. Middleton Murry, give us modern guesses at the problem. "The 'Jesus of History,' and must always be, largely a figure created by imaginative conjecture, and along this line there are as many different Jesuses possible as there are Hamlets."¹ There is no limit to the possible reconstructions of the life of Jesus Christ which may be produced, and no one picture will be demonstrably correct. Let it be frankly admitted that it is quite impossible, from the starting point of the legitimate notions of historical criticism, to prove that Jesus Christ really was what the Church has always claimed that He is, and it is indeed exceedingly doubtful whether the modern Radical himself in most cases really comes to that estimate of Christ which is pre-supposed in the Gospels and more or less satisfactorily asserted in the creeds.

But herein is nothing surprising or troubling to historic Christianity which has always maintained that the "divinity" of Christ—to keep the usual phrase—is a matter not of proof but of faith. The contemporaries of Christ in Palestine might confirm from their own

¹ Mr. Edwyn Bevan in *The Pilgrim*, October, 1923, p. 14.

observation all that the Gospels narrate of the public ministrations of Christ, yet their picture of His life and teaching would for the most part be very different from that of the Evangelists and of the Church. He was the Son of God to those that believed on Him, not to the world. As such He was proclaimed by the Church. He was indeed set forth as the key that could unlock all mysteries in heaven and earth. This Christ must be accepted, apprehended by faith, not by syllogism. To many this will seem a great weakness in the Christian position, but it is a weakness which no amount of literary and historical criticism can diminish or surmount.

That Jesus Christ is the Son of God, the God-man (*Deus homo*), God incarnate, is not irrational; it is not inconceivable, but it is a view which reason and historic investigation alone could neither establish nor substantiate. These terms, "Son of God," "God-man," "God incarnate" are not philosophically satisfactory; they are attempts to express that which, from the nature of the case, human language is unable to define or completely to make intelligible. But the significance of the terms is clear. Christians found God through Christ; they could never remember Christ without feeling themselves in the presence of God; they could never think of God without seeing the face of Christ. To them the words and deeds of Christ were the words and deeds of God. They did not identify Jesus Christ with God; on the other hand they were inwardly convinced that Jesus Christ and God were one—Jesus Christ was the Son of God, the Incarnate Word, the effulgence of the Divine glory, in Whom dwelt the fullness of the Godhead under human limitations.

It is the task of philosophy to deal with facts, not to discover them; apart from the law of contradiction, here inapplicable, philosophy cannot say what facts are and what facts are not possible. There is, then, no final philosophic objection to the Christian faith on the ground that it cannot be. But it is a far cry from "it might be" to "it is"!

By an act of faith and by an act of faith alone, Jesus Christ is apprehended and accepted as the incarnate Son of God. This is a fact not irrational but not demonstrable; it is a *dogma* of historic Christianity. A dogma should be differentiated from a theological theory and *a fortiori* from any philosophical system. The Incarnation, the Divinity, the unique Sonship, are symbols, not theories; they can be proclaimed; they cannot be proved. They are not mere value-judgments, for historic Christianity is the propagation, not of a series of value-judgments, but of affirmations of "the mighty acts of God" in history; if Christ is a mere symbol of value His historicity is unimportant.

In fine, historic Christianity is dogmatic in a sense which is not true of Radicalism. The Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, the ethic and supreme example of Jesus in His life and death, the sense

a "Spirit" of God moving men's hearts, are value-judgments, the sort of value-judgments to which the higher religions point; they are not revealed truths except in the sense that all truths may be said to be revealed to those who see them. They are rational propositions apparent to educated men of normal powers of reasoning and ethical sight. They are undoubtedly implied in and derived from Christianity, but they are not the message of Christianity nor do they constitute a gospel.

IV. I define dogma, then, as a not altogether inadequate and not misleading symbol of a truth which cannot be accurately defined in words or completely understood by the intellect but which can only be apprehended by faith. Faith is the assent of the whole personality—mind, feeling and will—to a truth of intuition; it is thus not primarily a logical process, but it cannot be in conflict with reason. The "Divinity of Christ" or "the Incarnation" is a dogma, conceivable, unprovable, apprehended by faith alone. It is based upon an interpretation—but by no means the only possible interpretation—of the life and death and teaching of Jesus Christ; it is the interpretation accepted by historic Christianity and pre-supposed in the New Testament. It is proclaimed, but not proved nor even explained, by the Church. It is accepted by those who have learnt to call Jesus Christ their Saviour; apart from this it is mere words.

As for the Atonement, there have been many theories of this in the course of the Christian centuries, and most of them are open to superable objection. But the dogma is not a theory but an affirmation of faith. Historic Christianity in all its many forms has always maintained that Christ died for our sins, and that it was necessary for him so to die that we might be saved. That these propositions raise great difficulties in men's minds to-day is certain; but for the moment let it be clear that in those Churches where the atoning death of Christ for our sins is not proclaimed to-day, there has been a decisive and fundamental breach with historic Christianity.¹

The foregoing pages are no apologia for Fundamentalism or Roman Catholicism. Both are obscurantist, and for that very reason make it possible to honest men only so long as they are kept in ignorance of modern knowledge. Faith is the free assent of the whole personality including the mind, but both in Fundamentalism and in Roman Catholicism the mind is kept in fetters, and the eyes are bandaged. The Modernist is free; faith therefore is possible for him. But Radicalism, repudiating authority, has likewise gone far in fact to repudiate dogma, and with dogma the essence of historic Christianity

¹ A dogma is not a theory, so also it should not be an assertion of an empirical fact: thus the fact, if it be a fact, of the Virgin birth, of the empty tomb, of the identity of a certain house in Italy with the house of the Nativity is not a dogma in this sense of the term. Dogma, however, in Christianity is based upon an interpretation of empirical facts of history, and therefore the assertion of certain historical facts is implied in and necessary to dogma.

and of the Gospel. The progress of modern thought and philosophy has done nothing to make the Gospel incredible, but, in trying to attain to the Gospel through modern thought, Radicals are in great danger of identifying with historic Christianity those emancipated notions which seem to them reasonable and universally acceptable, and have not realized how near they are to losing their place in the Christian world.

There is no doubt that a frank proclamation of belief in Jesus Christ as the Incarnate Son of God and of a great salvation wrought "in His blood" would alienate many who at present listen to Modern religion with some relish; it remains to ask whether there is after all a Gospel, and if so, whether these dogmas are not essential to it.

I fancy that the progress of Catholicism and the sterility of Protestantism to-day are patent to most observers. "The Break-up of Protestantism," the heading of a recent article in the *Atlantic Monthly* seems to describe the situation as it often appears. There are many factors that contribute to this situation. One of them may be explained by an illustration. Some years ago I spent Easter in Budapest. On Easter Sunday I attended Mass in the great and beautiful church in old Buda where all the kings of Hungary were crowned. The church was crowded, and I was fortunate to find a seat high up in a gallery under the roof. It was a service of great solemnity and splendour, pagan and primitive in much of its ritual and many of its associations, but Christian too, proclaiming in no uncertain tone by word and atmosphere and the thunder and triumph of its music that "the Lord is risen; He is risen indeed." The following Easter I was in England and went to worship in a Congregational Church. The first words of the sermon as I remember it, were these: "*Prima facie* the Resurrection presents us with a problem"! I should be the first to admit that the Resurrection presents us with many problems; but the story suffices to show why Protestantism is decaying. In the Fundamentalist controversy of modern man must sympathize with the Modernist party; Congregationalism as a whole stands, and must stand, on that side. But the only Gospel that ever was is this: that at a certain point in history God's very Son appeared amongst men, died for their sins upon the Cross and rose again from the dead, and that He is now present with His people to succour and redeem in life and death. If we cannot honestly believe this, we must not repeat it; but if we cannot believe it, we should close our chapel doors and recognize with a sigh that man's brightest dream is flown away and the "Good News" is a mistake and a delusion.

N. MICKLEM.

¹ By the Rev. Herbert Parrish. March, 1927.

A NEW CARLYLE LETTER.

In a collection of letters belonging to the Rev. W. Macfadyen Scott, of Eastbourne, there appears a letter from Thomas Carlyle which, I think, has never been printed. I am indebted to Mr. Scott and to Mr. Alexander Carlyle for permission to make the letter public.

It is written to his mother, and dated 19th May, 1837. In the previous January Carlyle had completed *The French Revolution*, and now refers to its publication. The letter fills a gap in the *New Letters* (published by Mr. Alexander Carlyle in 1904) fitting in between a letter from Carlyle to his mother dated 28 April¹ and one from her to him dated 23 May. The letter to his mother already printed was written just before the first of a series of lectures on German Literature at Carlyle had been persuaded to deliver, a series which brought £35 profit.² He gave other courses of lectures later, but what he thought about lecturing he makes clear in a letter to Emerson in 1839.

O heaven, I cannot *speak*; I can only gasp and writhe and stutter, a spectacle to gods and fashionables—being forced to it by want of money.

The letter now printed was written toward the end of the first course of lectures. It requires little in the way of annotation, practically all the persons mentioned being familiar to students of Carlyle. Reference is made to the lectures and the sending back of Mill's books, *etc.*, in letters to Mill printed in Mr. Alexander Carlyle's *Letters of Thomas Carlyle to Mill, Sterling, etc.*, 150 ff.

The words in square brackets are conjectures where the letter is uncertain.

ALBERT PEEL.

5, Cheyne Row, Chelsea,
London.

19th May, 1837.

My dear Mother,

I fancy you will be glad to hear a word from me to-day, and so tho' I have time but for a word (and seem to have got a very bad pen to boot) I will despatch you what I can. By various Newspapers that we have sent you would see how the Lectures were going on; very tolerably indeed, to the surprize and satisfaction of parties interested. I found myself in an awful flurry at first, but gradually recovered; and can go on now with comparative comfort. The audience seems to be between two and three hundred; a set of the discreetest, most attentive best-bred people I ever saw. It is very curious to hear the wild

¹ *New Letters*, I. 74.

² *New Letters*, I. 77.

Annandale voice speaking down upon these high-culture dignitaries and marchionesses ; and how patient and silent I sit under it. I have given them a variety of deliverances, up to Luther, etc., etc., which I was by no means sure they would receive so well. On the whole there is great reason to be thankful that we have got on so handsomely hitherto : reason above all to be thankful that one has got so near done with it. I delivered my fifth Lecture yesterday ; and had, by the bargain, only a little more to give ; however, the people seemed so anxious about it I determined to give them another, and so on Monday and again on Friday, I have to make my appearance again ; and *then* it is over and I am a free man ! I will write to you before long about that ; so soon as anything is settled about my motions. For the present, I think the best thing I can set about then will be to *take the garden*¹ here, which is lying very waste, and will offer a good steady job to calm me down again. You need not be *black-baised* then, my dear Mother, about this thing ; but take heart and be thankful with me that it all goes very well.

The Book³ too is fairly out some ten days ago, and I have sent away the few copies I had to give, and have cleared the house of all borrowed French Books, Mill's and others ; and feel at last wholly delivered from the unspeakable burden I carried so long. What the critics say of the work I take no pains to know, or rather would take pains not to know. It is enough for me that I have done my part in it, they can now do theirs, the best way they can. I rather conjecture that all the small fry of critics (a set of the most despicable mortals living) will be afflicted at the thing ; and I am better kind of critics on the whole pleased : which is exactly what ought to be. Mill tells me he is busy at a Review of me at present now : he calls himself much contented ; and is no insufficient judge, especially on this subject which he has studied to great lengths. I calculated on not getting a penny or a penny's worth in any way by the business ; so I wait "with unspeakable composure" which way it may go ; safe am I at any rate.

It is above a week since I sent off your copies for James Ainslie at Dumfries. They were ordered to be sent by Coach to Edinburgh. It is possible they may come very soon, or may have already come. James can indicate by a *single* stroke on the Newspaper when he gets them safe.⁴ To write a Letter would

¹ In a letter to his mother on May 27th (*New Letters*, I. 77) he says, "The garden is all dug and cleared, the bushes all pruned."

² =depressed, downcast. Cf. in another letter (*New Letters*, I. 76), "As you are *black-baised* about me," and "let your *black-baisement* become a white-baisement with the smallest possible delay."

³ *The French Revolution*.

⁴ The family had an arrangement whereby two strokes under the address of the newspaper wrapper meant "All well," three strokes "Got your letter."

better ; but that takes time ; and I suppose all is especially busy at this season. But above all let no one *write* on the Newspaper : it is a dangerous thing, and not altogether a just one. Yesterday no farther gone than came a Newspaper again all *splatched* with Post-Office seals, etc., and charged 16 shillings and odds ; which we refused. I was out when it came ; and Jane could form no guess about whom it came from. I suspect Rob. Hanning once more, unless it were some of the Annan people. Let us, while the play is good, give it up ; and always write a Note rather, were it never so short.

Poor Ben Nelson has lost his son : he found him dead and buried when he got to Heidelberg ; a melancholy thing as one can imagine. Ben bears it wonderfully. I saw him off yesterday, to Liverpool, where he ought to arrive tonight. I sent with him the little American Review¹ promised to James Aitken which I had got a few days before, after long delays. Ben will probably send it forward not the next Wednesday, but the second. James's name and address is on it. There were only 3 copies of the French Revolution destined for the home Household : one copy for you ; one for Alick ; and a third marked " for general use " ; which I intended should be sent from house to house among those of the brethren that wanted to [read it] and had no copy of their own. My Mother was to be *directress* of it [and to direct] who was to get it after whom. At one time it was my clear purpose to send every one of you a copy : but when there came at last [? least] to be a kind of chance (as there now is) that the whole Edition might sell and a fraction of money lie at the bottom of it, I gave away none that did not seem absolutely needful, not above the third part of what I meant. Nobody in your regions has got any ; except the Churches of Kirkchrist, who were good to me of old, and Mrs. Johnstone of Grange who in her widowed forsaken state had a double claim on me. I gave copies here to three of the people who had been at the bottom of this my lecturing speculation, but all manner of rich people, Bullers etc. I left either to read the Book at their own cost, or leave it altogether unread.

There is no answer from Mr. Greig² in America, nor indeed is it very near the time yet for one : forty days to go, forty to come, and the little intermediate delays, one may almost grant

¹ A little earlier he had written, " James Aitken ought to have got an American Review of Teufelsdröckh, which you will surely see and like : they are extremely good to me these Yankees, and I am a great object there."

² Greig was a Scot who went to America and made a fortune. There are references to him in *New Letters*, I. 64n ; 73. Alick did not sail for New York until 25 June, 1843. Immediately before his departure (17 June) Carlyle wrote to Greig on his behalf, Mrs. Carlyle making a copy of the letter for Alick, and adding that Greig was " a most kind-hearted man, and for old affection's sake will feel strongly disposed to serve you." (*New Letters*, I. 292 ff.)

three months for Letter and answer. They have come in two sometimes, but that is a rarity. It somehow strikes me that Alick will not go this summer, that I shall still find him to welcome me when I arrive. I can give no advice ; only now as ever my hearty prayers and affection. I hope he held a stout calm face to it ; and that you and all of you study to cheer and encourage and look at the best side of it. We may really with reason trust that it will be for good not for evil. I have of course no farther news from Jack. I have sent him a copy of the Book by Parish¹ and a path he marked out, but whether he will get it, seems rather uncertain to me—the sheet is full, dear Mother, and I must go. I force myself to believe that you are not out of order, that nothing is wrong. But you will write soon to say positively.

Good be with you all,

Your ever affectionate

T.C.

¹ Parish was a shipper or forwarder of goods all over the Continent. Jack, for whom the copy was sent, is Carlyle's brother John, the physician to Lady Clare and the translator of Dante.

DEVELOPMENTS AND EXPERIMENTS.

This Section of our Journal aims at chronicling not only developments in theological thought and in ecclesiastical organization, but also practical experiments in all branches of religious life and service.

Often when successful attempts have been made to solve some problem in part of the country, the rest of the Churches remain ignorant, and we trust these pages will not only serve as a clearing-house of ideas and a record of changing emphasis, but also broadcast valuable information of progress in each and denominational life.

Our representatives in the Colonies and the United States will from time to time contribute accounts of similar movements. The Editor will be glad to consider brief articles serving this purpose.

THE CHURCH AND PUBLIC QUESTIONS.

What ought to be the relation of the Church, its assemblies and pulpits, to public questions? Ought the Church to take sides in regard to political issues or industrial disputes, or commit herself to an endorsement of socialism, capitalism, or any other "ism" involving the economic condition of the people? In all such issues the Church is subject to a double pull; many people wish to identify her with a particular policy or some specific legislative programme, and then, if the demand is not met, the Church is apt to be charged with timidity or indifference. On the other hand there is a widespread suspicion (not only in the Church but out of it) of "politics in the pulpit." What is called "interference" by the Church in public questions is resented, sometimes from worldly motives but generally from a genuine fear that the Church should step down from the high altitude of spiritual principle to the disputations of worldly policy. Between these two conflicting demands,—one for utterance and the other for silence,—shall the Church respond?

This issue strictly belongs to the post-Reformation period and in particular affects Protestantism: for Catholicism the matter was settled in pre-Reformation days when the Church and the State were to be but two sides of a single fact. This position of the Protestant Churches has recently been elaborated by Mr. R. H. Tawney in *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, from which I take the following quotations:

"By the end of the seventeenth century the secular state, separate from the churches, which are subordinate to it, has emerged from the theory which had regarded both as dual aspects of a single society. The former pays a shadowy deference to Religion; the latter do not meddle with the external fabric of the political and social system, which is the concern of the former."

"The theory of a hierarchy of values, embracing all human interests and activities in a system of which the apex is Religion, is replaced by the conception of separate and parallel commitments, between which a due balance should be maintained, but which have no vital connection with each other."

"... however Catholics, Anglicans, Lutherans, Calvinists may differ on doctrine or ecclesiastical government, Luther and Calvin, Latimer and Laud, John Knox and the Pilgrim Fathers, are agreed that social morality is the province of the Church, and are prepared both to teach it, and to enforce it, when necessary, by suitable discipline. By the middle of the seventeenth century all that is altered. After the Restoration we are in a new world of economic, as well as of political thought. The claim of Religion, at best a shadowy claim, to maintain order of good conscience in economic affairs finally vanished with the failure of the work of the Westminster Assembly."

The relation of the Church to public questions which thus dropped out of Protestantism in the seventeenth century was forced upon Churches by the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century; it became one of the living issues of the nineteenth century; so much indeed that the term "political nonconformity" became a term of reproach. This issue in the twentieth century is still with us and demands our thoughtful consideration. The Church stands for the gospel which is a declaration of God's way in overcoming the evil of life, whether inward or outward, and it cannot therefore be a matter of indifference to Christian people to consider how such a gospel should be applied to the larger public questions which occupy public attention.

According to the New Testament the special function of the Church is to be "the Body of Christ"; His Will is her law; she must declare His Truth to the world by word or by corporate witness, without compromise or qualification, and urge upon men its acceptance. From this point of view then the Church ought to be an *embodiment* of Christian truth, a social expression of the Truth she teaches. We see this process actually taking shape on the Gospel page; for the concern of Jesus, especially in the later period of His ministry, was to make the disciple-circle an embodiment of Christian truth by establishing Christian relationships within it. So, for instance, He made "greatness,"—place, prestige—within the disciple-circle to rest upon service; forgiveness was to be without limit (seventy times seven); mutual love was to be the regulative principle of the Christian society. So also in speaking of the Church which grew out of the disciple-circle Jesus declared that if it were "gathered in His name and loyal to Him its decisions should be His decisions—whatsoever they bound on earth should be bound in heaven and whatsoever they loosed on earth should be loosed in heaven. It was therefore entirely

with this concern of Jesus when Paul affirmed of the Church at Antioch that it was "the Body of Christ."

This function of the Church has a definite bearing upon her relation to public questions; for it means that the task of the Church is to embody in the relationships of her members one with another the Christian truths which she seeks to commend to the world. Take two illustrations of what this means. In the Gospels Christian truth is made explicit in regard to the nature of "success," for it is always interpreted in terms of character; so Jesus asks, "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world"—is successful in earthly things—and yet lose his own soul? Or again, "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things he possesseth." Or "Man doth not live on bread alone but by every word which proceedeth out of the mouth of God." Yet everywhere in the world the standard of success is in terms of earthly prosperity—hard cash, things rather than life, goods instead of goodness—with the result that in what Mr. Tawney calls "acquisitive society," organized on a basis of "the incentive of material gain," we get an inevitable scramble and struggle for the riches which perish, bringing with it the consequent economic ills with which modern civilization is all too familiar. So then the Church's relation to questions of this kind must be registered by the presentation in her own life of the Christian standard of success as an alternative and substitute to the standard of the world. That is to say, neither wealth, worldly prestige, numbers, popularity, nor any other outward and visible mark, must be the criterion of the Church's well-being, but only fidelity to Christian truth.

One of the chief failures of the Church, and one of the most damaging weaknesses which can be levelled against her, is that here she falls short of the Christian standard. Indeed our very phrases often betray us; we speak for instance of a "flourishing cause" when we mean not success in commending the Gospel but well-filled pews, or a Church which is high in the esteem of the world about it; or we congratulate ourselves when a Church contains a number of "substantial men," by substance we are proud of being not the stuff which "moth and rust cannot consume" but that which Mammon wields!

As a matter of history, however, the Church has been healthiest and most successful in fulfilling her appointed task precisely when she has been scorned and persecuted by the world for her fidelity to the Gospel, and when loss of property and even of life has been deemed a significant incident in the splendid task of embodying Christian truth. This emphasis therefore must be recovered and incorporated in the common life of the Church if her message and witness are to count against economic questions which turn on words like property, prosperity, wealth, success.

As a further example consider Christian Truth concerning the healing of life. Strife occurs—often with catastrophic consequences—

whenever interests clash, and so we get personal quarrels, individual disputes, international war. Then how shall the Church embody Christian Truth upon questions such as these? The answer is obvious: she must be a society whose members (despite differences, disagreements, even dislikes) are at peace with one another because each is at peace with God; for a common loyalty to the Divine Will in Christ creates a society from which strife is banished. For this reason there is no greater scandal or reproach than what is called a Church "row"; for if the Church whose high prerogative is to embody Christian Truth allows the spirit of strife to disrupt the Church's relationships of her members, then by what title can she presume to commend the Way of Christ to a striving and angry world? For indeed, in the imperfection of her own life, is the radical weakness of the Church's testimony against any earthly strife. Call to mind, for instance, the traditional Christian witness on behalf of peace against war; yet how can we expect the world to take the Church's peace professions seriously if when war comes the Church immediately breaks into conflicting fragments and Christians go forth to fight fellow-Christians? In that act obviously the Church fails to embody the Mind of Him who is called the Prince of Peace.

The same principle applies to any of the urgent public questions of our day in every department of our common life. That is true until the Church embodies Christian Truth in her internal economy in the relation of member with member within the Church—the world will rightly be sceptical as to the validity of the Church's gospel when applied to public questions; and therefore *within the Christian society* the Mind of Christ, the Christian ethic, the Law of Love, must be the standard and rule of the Church's life; only so can the Christian witness be presented to the world as the standard and rule of all human relationships.

But this carries with it a further obligation; for the Church is not only called to embody Christian truth but also to utter it. Christ claims the whole of life, and therefore the Church cannot be indifferent to any vital questions, public or private. But if she is to utter Christ's truth, then her every judgment must be a Christian judgment, not a party judgment or one dictated by worldly interests or political expediency or by anything less than absolute fidelity to the Master. Jesus did not, however, prescribe exact methods of translating His Mind into practical politics; on the contrary, He was content to enunciate principles and to leave their application to be determined as occasion arose, for He knew that any given principle may work out in different ways according to the circumstances of the moment.

This obviously imposes a severe limitation upon the Church's attitude and utterance in regard to public questions; for, if she is to be true to the principle of Jesus, she must utter a Christian judgment and must always beware of identifying that judgment with particular methods.

crystallizing it into ethical, political, economic or other dogmas. Let me illustrate from matters of modern concern. For instance, the principle of self-control,—what the New Testament calls “temperance”—is an essential part of the Gospel; but if the position stated be accepted then the way in which self-control is exercised is a matter to be determined by the individual conscience and by the precise circumstances in which we find ourselves. So therefore while it is proper for the Church to condemn drunkenness, which is an obvious violation of self-control, yet the identification of Christianity with total abstinence in all circumstances and for all people is strictly beyond the scope and competence of the Church. The same would be true if it were pleaded (as indeed it often is) that Christian principles could only be adequately expressed by moderation in the use of alcohol, or by endorsing specific proposals for dealing with the liquor traffic. I may feel that one or other of these courses is binding upon me personally in the particular circumstances of my life (as a convinced total abstainer, I do so feel): I may even go further and seek to commend my conviction to others: but unless I am willing to precipitate Christianity into a rigid code of conduct I must recognize that “moderate drinking” (so-called) no less than total abstinence may be for others, or in other circumstances, an expedient for expressing Christian truth; and therefore neither one nor the other is to be confused with the Christian principle of self-control, which it may embody.

As a further illustration let us recall the Christian stress on reconciliation. In the presence of conflict of any kind a Christian judgment will condemn all that makes for embitterment; moreover, that same judgment will commend to the consideration of Christian men any and every practical proposal which looks in the direction of reconciliation. But we must refrain from identifying Christian truth with any exact policy, as though it alone could be Christian; for so to do is to confine Christianity (which is a free spirit working out in infinite ways) to the limits of a human expedient devised by man's imperfect wisdom. Thus the Church cannot in loyalty to Christian truth prescribe a precise policy or an economic solution for an industrial strike or lock-out; her task is to call men to be reconciled to God and to each other, and then only from this point of view pass judgment upon any practical proposals which may be enunciated, approving or condemning as they do or do not make for reconciliation. Again, the Church may commend the League of Nations as an attempt, necessarily imperfect, to realize the Christian ideal of world-peace; but she must not forget that many Christians believe there are other and better ways than the League of Nations for achieving the Christian ideal. America contains millions of such people, and in many quarters there is a growing doubt as to the efficacy of the League so long as its sanctions are rooted in armed force. If therefore the Church identifies

Christianity with the League of Nations, then it limits the Christian ethic to one particular international channel, and in effect declares that if we do not support the League we are not Christians. This seems to me to be a fatal objection to the corporate membership of our churches in the League of Nations Union; any such confusion of Christianity with a political expedient offends against the tolerance of Jesus Himself, for He recognized not one but many ways of expressing Christian truth.

The same principles apply to any and every public question, which means that we cannot identify the Church with anything less than the Christian Truth which she is called to embody and to utter. For this reason we can never affirm of any particular political policy or social programme that it is the only possible expression of Christ's mind; for that mind is wider and more varied than any earthly policy. Consequently, in all such matters the Church must refrain from dogmatism and exercise the loving tolerance of her Master; in other words, she can only utter Christian truth as she commends Christ's spirit and teaching to the world, and then allows it to be applied to public questions in any way which a Christian judgment can endorse.

To sum up then. The Church must embody in her corporate life the mind and will of her Founder, and so by the glory of her example commend His way to the world at large. But she also has a duty to utter Christian Truth by expressing a Christian judgment upon passing events. In that judgment nothing that is alien to the spirit of Jesus can ever be endorsed; but wherever men apply that spirit to public questions, then policies and activities which are diverse and even opposed may each of them express the mind of Jesus Christ.

LEYTON RICHARDS.

THE USE OF THE CINEMA.

IN the training of the young we should appeal to all their senses. Hitherto we have relied mainly upon appeals to their hearing and so have given them lessons, talks, and lectures. True the magic lantern has been used, but it was unnatural in the presentations it made. Everything it was able to show was fixed, and men and women in actual life do not stand still, and trees and grass sway in the breeze. Apart from this consideration its day is done. Those who provide amusements make their appeal to the eye by moving pictures which present things in the same way as they are seen when looked at directly and their movements noted. The cinema is having a great influence and is capable of doing a great deal of good.

May I, therefore, tell of an experiment I made last winter? At Bolton Villas, Bradford, I found a children's meeting at which

re was a very meagre attendance. In a district that is rapidly wing this was unsatisfactory. When I was thinking what could be e a teacher in one of the Bradford Council Schools told me about use of a cinema and suggested it was what I needed for the young ple of my church. I saw it at work and was convinced it would do at I wanted.

It is the Pathé Baby Ciné. It gives a picture three feet by two, there is an amplifier which will either increase the size of the picture horten the length of the "throw," *i.e.*, the distance of the lantern n the screen. The normal length of the "throw" is fourteen feet, so in a schoolroom the amplifier would generally be used to increase size of the picture. The films are of two lengths—thirty and sixty—but as there is an arrangement in the machine by which titles and lanatory letterpress become fixed exposures instead of being eated the films are equivalent to one hundred and two hundred feet ectively. As the films are non-inflammable they can be stopped ny point and a fixed picture shown, and the attention of the children wn to any details that are of special interest. The films are quickly ind back and there is no delay or awkward pauses.

I have found that the pictures are not a substitute for speech. It is essary to get up a lecture on each of them so as to be able to make a nning explanation as the picture unfolds and frequently to stop the t to make some points quite clear. The appeal to the children's ds is made through eye and ear, and each helps the other. It is a ure and a lecture at the same time.

There is a great variety of films. I have shown pictures on natural istory, habits and customs, industries, travel, and fables. The children e become very keen. The attendance has increased from four or to about forty. To test them I had a meeting without pictures one k and found as many came as before. This seemed to show that a porate spirit, previously absent, had begun to grow, and this is ing summer activities possible. When showing the pictures it e been possible without any strain to stimulate the sense of wonder he marvels of the world and also their reverence for God's wisdom e care.

The cost is not great. £10 will pay for all that is needed at first. e films are 3s. 6d. and 6s., according to length. But in many places e is a film library where they can be hired at a small charge. I e told my children they must help to purchase films and so we have ollection each week.

The working of the lantern is a simple matter. Where there is electric t you plug into an ordinary lamp socket. A two-way switch can be ained, and this allows light to be brought into the room or turned into a lantern simply by pressing a button. The man at the lantern ontrols the light of the room as well as of the lantern. Those who e any knowledge of boys and girls can easily see the great advantage

of this for disciplinary purposes ! It also has another great advantage. The current must pass through a resistance to be reduced in strength for use in the lantern and so when the light is turned into the room it is dimmed and does not dazzle the eyes as passing from complete darkness to the full glare of electric light would do.

Where there is no electric light the projector can be lit by accumulators or by the use of a dynamo, which the Pathé Company supply at a cost of £3 10s. The best way is to use electric light, and the cost is about one penny per hour. There are some disadvantages about the other two ways which I need not specify, but the lantern can be used where there is no electric light. My teacher friend works with a small accumulator and uses it every week.

Enough, I hope, has been said in these notes, but any enquiries sent to me at 4, Norman Mount, Eccleshill, Bradford, will be dealt with to the best of my ability.

E. A. SMISSON.

A LONE PATROL.

TO-NIGHT as I start my journey the lanes are muddy ruts and a bitter east wind sweeps the landscape. Perhaps it is the sense of loneliness, the consciousness that my bicycle and its rider are the only signs of activity, which take me back to silent patrols in no-man's land. The wind howls through the tall elms, and the firs and pines make a rustling noise : cottages here and there send out shafts of light while the night quickly envelops ; but for the distant echo of a rumbly train all is silent.

This sense of isolation encourages that meditation so vital to the service and there is time for much contemplation.

I feel as isolated a local preacher as I am a solitary traveller on an inhospitable night. Thoughts come to me of the appalling lack of interest taken by the Congregational denomination : there is neither anyone or any responsible body to inquire into these activities, no guidance, no standard. With Clarke's *Outline of Christian Theology*, a Dictionary, and old Commentaries hopelessly pedantic and profitless I make my studies. Any " local " worth his salt realizes the need and value of theology. As I lean over to protect my lamp against the gale I wonder if this important ministry will ever be organized in an intelligent manner.

The work is no light task. One may arrive at a Bethel prepared with a discourse on " Quit you like men," only to find—as I did—that the congregation was composed entirely of women, except for one poor fellow who was carried out during the first prayer owing to ill-fit. On another occasion a village mission hall included in the congregation two retired ministers and several business men residing near

The sermon even of a "local" must not be prepared finally until the congregation has been faced and studied. But there is romance in this attractive uncertainty and a fine education.

The old faithful "locals" take their lone patrols each Sunday, but the younger generation does not follow. Perhaps it is the dissatisfaction of youth with the conservatism of age which makes one feel that any business treated so casually would be quickly bankrupt. Preaching is surely vital, and now that so many people are seeking the country side the need for a cultured and progressive ministry is greater than ever.

To make this great service appeal to youth there is but one way; it must be made difficult and youth must see that it is considered worth while. It is time that the Congregational denomination either through the County Unions (but preferably from the Memorial Hall) set some standard, arranged courses of study, by correspondence if necessary, so that we may possess that confidence which comes in passing a specific test.

And so the introspection proceeds and I find myself recovering my equilibrium in the fourth class lane which leads to my destination.

* * * * *

The service has ended. The villagers light their lamps for the homeward journey. A village woman, her face furrowed with care and toil, thanks me for the sermon with attractive sincerity. From somewhere out in the darkness another homeward-bound worshipper sings again our closing hymn, "Father, in high heaven dwelling."

I light my lamp with a glow in my heart. It has been well worth while, but yet I cannot help thinking and wondering why this should be a lone patrol.

G. H. COLE.

FOREIGN IMPRESSIONS AND REVIEWS.

Natur und Gott. By ARTHUR TITIUS. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1926. pp. 851. Mk. 21.

"A clash of doctrines is not a disaster—it is an opportunity." The monumental and epoch-making book before us illustrates this dictum of Prof. Whitehead's. With inflexible purpose and heroic courage Dr. Titius has, during twenty years of research in every branch of science and of reflection upon every aspect of religion, "bought up the opportunity" which the clash of doctrines presented, and has prepared the way for a reconciliation which, as we believe, will react fruitfully both on the pursuit of science and the practice of religion. Continental reviews of this work rightly describe it as the turning point in the relation of science and religion. It records a change of attitude on the part of both. In 1873 Dr. J. W. Draper published his book, *The History of the Conflict between Religion and Science*, which was widely read and passed through six editions in twelve years. The author regarded the outlook for religion as dark. The conflict could end, he thought, in only one way. Educated mankind would suddenly awake and find themselves in a world from which religion had been finally expelled by the sciences. Prophecies and anticipations of the future rarely allow for the possibility of surprise. The surprise is that just now we find Lord Balfour saying,¹ "Half a century has passed since Dr. Draper wrote, and religion is still with us. Not only so, but, so far as I can judge, its relations to science are more satisfactory at the end of this period than they were at the beginning." And we have that incomparable scientist, Prof. A. N. Whitehead, saying of religion,² "It is the one element of human experience which persistently shows an upward trend." This change of attitude from the one familiar to us in our youth, when scientific thought was largely directed by Tyndall, Huxley and Spencer in England, or by Haeckel in Germany brightens the outlook and provides a legitimate ground for optimism.

Dr. Titius's *Natur und Gott* is the first really great document of the new situation. The writer of this notice, by a piece of rare good fortune, rode opposite to the author from Upsala to Stockholm in 1925, and learned during the hour's conversation something of the vigour of his personality, the range of his knowledge, and the penetration of his mind. No serious student of the relation between science and religion can neglect this book. Facts are honestly and fearlessly faced. The progress of scientific investigation in physics, astronomy, chemistry, biology, and psychology is followed with exhaustive thoroughness. The latest developments of the quantum theory and the theory of relativity are examined with a care that omits no detail. Yet the author ever keeps in view the possibility of a more adequate interpretation of the universe than the confident and dogmatic materialism of a past generation. He tells us (p. 514) that his aim throughout the book is to follow the history of the development of a science in order that he may bring out the ascertained facts. He also tells us (p. 571) that his principle task is to determine how far the religious conception of the world that prevails to-day has changed or is made easier or harder by modern scientific development. The real thesis of the book, however, is summed up on p. 803: "to indicate by proof and example that natural science and religion mutually supplement

¹ *Science, Religion and Reality*, (1925) p. 4.

² *Science and the Modern World* (1927), p. 238.

each other, and to bring about not a forced or unnatural alliance between them, but a genuinely fruitful association for the furtherance of the common life." A forced alliance means that the rights or the claims of one of them are either ignored or repudiated. There can be no unity of purpose or reconciliation that way. Mutual recognition and respect are the conditions of fruitful and effective co-operation. It is therefore not only necessary for religion and religious men to recognize scientific knowledge as knowledge of reality, but also that science and scientific men must recognize knowledge acquired by religious experience as knowledge of reality. Each of these worlds is in its form and structure uniform and unique. It would run counter to our developed sense of form to confuse their elements or to mix their styles. Yet every thinking man is a citizen of both worlds and builds up the forces of both into a whole, throughout which one uniform principle prevails (*cf.* p. 726). The important thing to remember is that while knowledge of both worlds is accessible, the difference between these worlds makes a difference in the method by means of which the knowledge may be acquired. And yet both ways of knowledge, in spite of their difference of method, cannot proceed satisfactorily independently of each other. Religious knowledge, so far as it lays hold of the highest reality in its truth, must, in order to renew its life in a practical way, be united with all other true knowledge. On the other hand, scientific knowledge (in its own sphere autonomous) since the objects it embraces come from God and point to God, must in consequence of the indistinctness or the inaccessibility of its material, break the threads of the causal chain, and, encouraged by faith, learn to esteem the simplest, the most sensible solution of the problem as the most probable one (p. 745). In short, and this is one of the most important points of the work, science without faith in the reasonableness of things would forfeit its deepest impulses and motives and fall a prey to a feeble scepticism. At the same time faith without science would tend to lose its feeling for reality. It would be more akin to æsthetic feeling, which might be true without being actual or real (p. 24).

The paths of scientific inquiry and investigation and of religious experience are thus converging. Dr. Titius sums up the position in a valuable paragraph: "In spite of the many conflicts between recent science and religious tradition we find to-day a consistent effort at the reconciliation and at the union of faith and knowledge which springs from the deepest impulses of the spiritual life" (p. 299). It is all the more interesting to us that he should say this, as we find a similar tendency in our own country.

It would require a technical and expert knowledge of the sciences to exhibit with any completeness and adequacy the history of their achievements, or to summarize their present position in relation to each other and in relation to the ultimate problems of life and the world. Dr. Titius shows all the German thoroughness and mastery of detail. At the same time he is not smothered by his own vast material. His strong and lucid mind dominates the material, while the simple faith of an evangelical Christian runs like a golden thread through all his arguments. Thus, as he says (p. 300): "It is never a mere historical representation that we have in mind, but an unfolding of that which is regarded as true (with more or less certainty). We shall endeavour to follow the different stages in the development of scientific thinking and its immanent logic." True to this method he gives an exhaustive account of the present position of the physical and chemical sciences, so as to exhibit the structure and evolution of the world. He discusses the transition from the inorganic to the organic, and the bearings of this on the problems of life and of mind. There are no gaps or loose edges in this survey. The wealth of detail and the highly technical nature

of the discussion almost bewilder the reader and make the task of a reviewer conscious of responsibility and of his own inadequate equipment, increasingly difficult.

Obviously severe limits must therefore be set to this notice. There are three main lines along which the scientific and the religious interests are converging: the idea of creation, the origin and nature of man, and miracle. We propose in what remains to follow these lines of thought, and to gather together, as far as we can, Dr. Titius's main contribution to the solution of these problems. It is inevitable that a great deal that is of value and importance must be left out of the account, but we are all interested in these three problems.

There is hardly a page in which the idea of creation is not directly or indirectly referred to. Every science at some point or other has a contribution to make to it. Religious thought is deeply concerned with it. In estimating the value of the Biblical account of creation, Dr. Titius points out that, however naïve that account may be, the ethical character of the divine activity is emphasized—His goodness and love, His respect for His honour. Creation is a revelation of wisdom (*cf.* p. 163). This distinguishes the Biblical account from emanation theories and from pantheism and monism, whether of an ancient or a modern type. "It is a striking indication of the ethical energy of the idea of God in Israel that the order of creation moves in an ethical direction both in the life of nature and in that of society" (p. 115). That the present world is an ordered whole and must be traced back to the Godhead forms a common feature of all ideas of creation. Every creative idea implies a rationalizing of the world (p. 103). Now the unity, order and harmony of the world has received an ever-widening confirmation from the development of modern science. A higher imaginative level has been reached because we have better instruments by means of which observations of more remote and more minute phenomena may be made and recorded. The confident materialism of a previous generation is shaken when mass is interpreted in the terms of energy.

A most important result of the theory of relativity is that gravitation and electro-dynamics are united in one whole (p. 358). Our senses may ascribe independence to bodies in the world, but they show us nothing of the binding forces, *e.g.*, gravity, electricity, magnetism, which condition the holding together of atoms, *in feste Körpern* (in solid bodies). The theory of relativity has brought out the idea of the continued mutual working of all forces, and has placed the significance of world space in a clear light (p. 360). Astronomy has also revealed to us the vastness of the universe. The immensity of the distances and of the numbers of the stars staggers the imagination. These stars and their planets were formed gradually out of hypothetical initial conditions, chaotic mists of gases, cosmic dust-clouds under the influence of gravity (p. 373). The drawing together of the masses and their condensation produced heat. All these phenomena imply the interrelation and interdependence of forces that indicate a unity, an order and a harmony in the universe, apart from which the function and meaning of each force or each part cannot be rightly understood. "Without the idea of the whole not even the inorganic world can be indicated with clearness." Similarly with the study of life; the relation of the organism to its surroundings, the relation of the cells that form the organism to each other and to the whole, imply unity, symmetry, wholeness, purposiveness. Every organic body—even the human body—is built up from materials which are found everywhere acting and active in nature. But quite unique, and not to be found outside the organism, are the structures into which the materials are built. Physical and organic life is conditioned

physical and chemical laws, but these are not adequate to explain the e. A higher biological purposiveness is necessary (p. 415). The modern lar aspect of biology only the more reveals the mystery and wonder of The unmistakable inference is that the wide extension given to the of order and harmony and interrelation by modern science is a challenge materialistic interpretation of the world and a confirmation of the al interpretation of it.

he long and elaborate study of the origin and nature of man occupies entre of the book and involves a close examination of the recent results emistry, biology, physiology and psychology, with all of which Dr. Titius ually at home. It may be said at once that the gulf between the anic and the organic is as wide as ever (p. 420). Certain conditions must und together for life to follow, only we do not know what those con- is are. Haeckel attempted to bridge the gulf by the assumption of a tureless protoplasm whose direct origin out of an albuminous solution garded as possible. The *Bathybius Haeckelii* of the Challenger Expe- 1 (1872-6) served to supply the confirmation of this. But the *Bathy- Haeckelii* does not exist (p. 420). Dr. Titius passes on to a consideration e problems of heredity, which he regards as of enormous complexity. ightly recognizes that the cell has become the centre of interest and rtigation in this connexion, and that the separation and segregation e germ cells from the somatic cells undermines Darwin's provisional thesis of pangenesis. It is difficult to trace the method or the mechanism eans of which a modification of the somatic cells can penetrate to cells, and so pass on to the offspring the modification acquired by the t. Weismann's theory of the continuity of the germ plasm revo- ized the theory of heredity, and undermined that of Darwin. Dr. s offers an interesting criticism of both theories. He points out (p. 46) that "the germ cell in possession of the inheritance of countless ations unfolds or develops the inherited disposition and that in con- intercourse with the outer world grows in a similar way." The ntance of acquired characteristics may then be possible. Changes in the nditions of an organism call forth changes in the substance which is earer of the inherited peculiarities (p. 447). The researches of el and of the Dutch School of De Vries have still further qualified the on of Darwin. He was very fond of the phrase, *natura non fecit saltus*, ven Huxley thought he used it too often. Jumps seem rather more the of the day now, and the selection of the minute advantageous variations r are passed on and accumulated by successive generations (the ation of the Darwinian theory) is no longer considered as an exhaustive nt of the origin of species. Dr. Titius is most suggestive in his treatment e controversy between vitalism and mechanism, which has its annual ut at the meetings of the British Association. His analysis of the on of Driesch is specially interesting. He urges in relation to Driesch's e ne of the entelechy that the change of a methodological into a meta- cal category, or the investing of the entelechy with an ontological eter, is not conclusive (p. 765). It is the whole process of life that we o keep in mind from the protozoa to man. The assumption of a middle om between a mechanism and the world of mind (*Geisteswelt*) needs, esch assumes it, to be justified rather in the totality of the phenomena . One extraordinarily wise sentence, which is of special value in view edham's essay in *Science, Religion and Reality*, may be quoted in this xion: "The vitalistic theory is not necessarily religious, neither is echanistic necessarily irreligious." However this controversy may be el in the future, and whatever account may be given of the origin and

nature of man, the religious conception of the world cannot be satisfied by the abandonment of a uniform plan of creation, nor even with an æsthetic, idealistic conception of it, but demands a teleological relation which places man as a spiritual being at the middle point of the development of the world (*cf.* p. 770). In Dr. Titius's view both science and religion converge in this standpoint.

Finally we must devote a few words to the problem of miracle, particularly to the chapter on "Miracle in present-day Protestantism" (pp. 771 ff.). Two tendencies are recognized in contemporary thought about the problem of miracles. Not only in circles where liberal theology prevails, but among those who hold more strictly to the confessional standpoint, miracles are sometimes questioned or regarded as of secondary importance. On the other hand there is a strong reaction against the assumed omnipotence of scientific investigation. The idea of the reign of law, according to Dr. Titius (p. 771) is not irreconcilable with the idea of the creative activity of God. Yet it is impossible for us to bind or to narrow the freedom of God's activity by our own idea of the reign of law. Further, it is impossible to blot out miracles from the picture of Christ without seriously endangering the historical tradition. In the life and order of the world there are elements which we are not able to reduce to the idea of law. But the supernatural is not against nature. In the teaching of Christ nature is God's creation and is therefore good. We must connect miracle with the creative ethical activity of God, with prayer, promise and providence. They stand therefore in sharp opposition to the purely mechanical or materialistic conception of the world. The Christian's consciousness of a happiness and a salvation which surpass the whole world and sustain him in independence of all conditions lifts him above a materialistic conception (p. 778). The problem of miracle is unduly complicated by the way it is stated. It is not a question of a breach in the order of nature, but a sign of the divine presence and creative purpose in history as in nature. "As soon as man conceives of the world as God's creation, as is the case in a monotheistic faith, there must remain in reserve the possibility of another creation" (p. 780). So earlier in the book (p. 157), Dr. Titius conceives the Christian redemptive principle as a creative principle as a unity. The one determines and, so to speak, continues and completes itself in the other. The idea of the reign of law requires supplementing by another principle, *viz.*, causality acting through the will. But the life of the will has its own laws, so that the reign of law is not broken. It is not a question of an alternation between necessity and freedom. Without freedom would lead to a soulless mechanism. Freedom without law would turn to arbitrariness. If both are indispensable, then faith in God remains, and room is still left for the free creative activity of God. A reliance on the unbounded power of God, which never fails in means and method for the accomplishment of His ends, is an essential element in religious existence. A God Who is checked and hindered by inert matter is no longer capable of living (p. 782).

A victorious optimism is always possible when the mind and spirit of man are being renewed through communion with God. What is this but the daily miracle that lifts the experience of humble Christians above the flats of materialism to the heights of blessedness and peace. This miracle supplies the impulse for the noblest service. It is the prophecy and promise of a life beyond the grave (p. 790). It supplies the strength to overcome the weakness of the flesh. "Through inoculation with the life of eternity and a not less strong earnestness to attain to it, Christian people receive an impulse, apart from which their courage and rescue energy would be inexplicable" (p. 803). The most serious task of practical

individual ethics consists in this: with the supposition of very limited moral strength to find the way to the full development of moral personality. This is obtained by communion with God through Christ; the restoration of a good conscience, balance and freedom then follow naturally.

W. BLACKSHAW.

Russia: The Official Report of the Trade Union Delegation. Trade Union Congress Council. 1925. 5s.

Marx, Lenin, and the Science of Revolution. By MAX EASTMAN. Allen & Unwin. 1926. 7s. 6d.

After Lenin. By M. FARBMAN. Parsons. 7s. 6d. 1926.

The Russian Revolution. By LANCELOT LAWTON. Macmillan. 1927. 21s.

Bolshevist Russia. By ANTON KARLGREN. Allen & Unwin. 1927. 12s. 6d.

Ever since the sudden flame of red Communism shocked the war-weary world we have been deluged with propaganda pro-and anti-Bolshevik. Almost all the above books betray this, Michael Farbman's *After Lenin* being an honourable exception. We are too near to the tragic events in Russia and their repercussion on the rest of the world and on our own public policy, to consider these events dispassionately and without prejudice. For this reason we regard it as an indispensable preparation for the study of the Russian Revolution to work through the social and economic history of Russia in the nineteenth century. That will at least help us to understand some of the causes of the Revolution. However confused we may be about the Revolution itself and its subsequent history and effects, under the guidance of competent historians we can follow the development of economic and social conditions in Russia and see how these made the Revolution inevitable. Kornilov's *Modern Russian History* (Keffington, 2 vols., 1917) is excellent for this purpose. It is concerned mainly with the nineteenth century, beginning with the reign of Paul (1797-1801) the Caligula of Russian history. The chapters on Russia under Nicholas II. (1894-1916) are written by the translator, Alexander S. Kaun. These betray a more polemical tone and are much more critical of the Tzarist regime. Prof. Kornilov devotes a great deal of attention to the social and economic background. He gives us, *e.g.*, accounts of the history of education, the press, and of financial administration in Russia. Above all, we have an exhaustive account of the problem of the peasant, which is central in modern Russian history and had a profound effect on the Revolution and its subsequent developments. He shows how large a part militarism and war have played in the final outcome. With the exception of the Napoleonic wars of Alexander I. Russian wars have almost invariably been unsuccessful and humiliating. Generals have proved incompetent. The administration of the War Office and the Treasury has been inefficient. Again and again Kornilov refers to dishonesty and corruption and the enormous abuses of military administration. Officers of independent thought were weeded out and those who were left showed little or no initiative. Kuropatkin's report on the State of Japan before the Japanese war stated that the war would be a *simple military promenade* and that Japan was in a state of unreadiness and chaos! Popular mass explosions followed these wars. The government proved inefficient at its own game. The machinery of the autocratic state was always breaking down. While the army failed against the enemy in the field, it succeeded only too well in shooting down unarmed Russians at home. The methods whereby the Government sought to repress popular

movements were cruel in the extreme. Throughout the century expressions of free opinion were stifled. Between 1847-52, 26,456 persons were tried for schism. That is typical. The treatment of the Jews beyond description in its barbarity. The educational policy of Count Dmitri Tolstoy (not to be confused with his namesake Count Lyof Tolstoy) aimed at providing a multitude of mental dykes for the struggle with destructive notions. The bureaucratic control of the universities, the prohibition of the study of natural science, foreign languages, and economic history, the elimination of children of the lower ranks from secondary schools—all indications of the purpose of educational policy. These reactionary tendencies were continued by the ill-famed Pobiedonostzev—in power from 1886 to 1905—the bitter and relentless enemy of the people and of popular movements. In court circles he was looked upon as the saviour of the dynasty, but he was regarded throughout the land as the "evil genius of Russia." He attempted to hand over primary education to the Church, and as the Church was the humble servant of the autocracy, it was believed that the broad masses of the people, and especially the peasants (85 per cent. of the population) would early learn the virtue of submissiveness.

The most important economic event of the nineteenth century was the freeing of the serfs by Alexander II. in 1861. The Imperial family alone had 765,000 bonded serfs on their estates. Prof. Kornilov's account of this event and the subsequent history of the serfs is most valuable. The facts are complicated, as there were different categories of peasants who had to be treated in different ways. Many were freed *without land* and this placed them in economic dependence on their former masters. The bitter disappointment of the peasants over the conditions of their emancipation prepared the ground for revolutionary propaganda. They either received no land at all, or land insufficient for maintenance, or were overwhelmed by taxation or by the redemptive payments. In any case they were crushed and all cases of disturbance were met with cruel repression and barbarous punishments.

In the light of all this can we be surprised that the failure of Russia in the great war released the pent up flood of revolutionary passion. It had been gathering force underground, while elaborate revolutionary organizations were preparing for the overthrow of the State in foreign lands. The *Memoirs* of M. Palæologue, the last French Ambassador at Petrograd, reveal the sinister influences around Nicolas II. He paints a pathetic picture of the weakness and vacillation of the Tzar and his ministers, the hopeless confusion and bewilderment of the Government, the complete breakdown of the administration. The hour had struck, and the man emerged from hiding who possessed the brain and the will to exploit the Russia disaster in order to inaugurate the Revolution—Lenin.

The suddenness of it astonished the world. But it must be remembered that the Bolsheviks rehearsed the Revolution in 1905 after "Bloody Sunday", when Tzarist troops fired on an unarmed procession in front of the Winter Palace. The actual power during the month of October (1905) lay in the hands of the proletariat, particularly of the Petrograd Council of Workmen's Deputies. The Council was composed of delegates from every factory elected by the workmen (Kornilov, II. 308). But this rehearsal was short-lived, chiefly because, as yet, the army obeyed orders. And the orders they received were, "Have no prisoners; act without mercy." The time came at length when this last citadel of the autocracy had learned an unforgettable lesson in the folly and the crimes of their rulers. An unpaid, half-starved, defeated and dispirited army proved a broken reed to the autocracy in 1917. It became a people's army: the last prop was broken and the whole state system collapsed.

the story is told by Mr. Lawton in *The Russian Revolution* (pp. 55-67). With the French Revolution the revolutionary mood of the masses was unified and consolidated by the threats of foreign intervention. Russians do not like this. Neither do we. All the revolutionary parties united against a common peril. Trotsky and Zinovief hesitated. But Lenin was not. His plan was prepared. Strategical points were occupied by a Red Guard regiment composed of workers. The proletarian dictatorship was inaugurated. The remarkable thing is how easily and how quickly the whole system fell to pieces beneath the rapid blows of a comparatively few energetic and determined leaders. Mr. Lawton's book is well illustrated and contains excellent portraits of these men and a picture of Lenin as a frontispiece. The Trade Union Report is also illustrated. Its frontispiece is a reproduction of the massacre of January 9th, 1905, the original painting of which is at the top of the grand staircase of the Soviet House at Moscow, and a perpetual reminder of the brutal methods of the Tzarist Government. The report also contains pictures of clubs and reading rooms and illustrations of planning schemes, etc. It is, as we should expect, specially strong on the constructive side. It gives a large space to the successes of the Soviet system, and says very little about the failures. It is not fair, however, to say that everybody was paraded and put on their best behaviour in order to create a favourable impression. The Delegation was allowed to converse freely with political prisoners who were opponents of the Soviet régime without the presence of its representatives. It must also be pointed out that the Trade Union delegates were accompanied by Advisory Delegates, who were men of long experience of Russia and were familiar with its language. The Delegation was not dependent on interpreters and guides appointed by the Tzarist Government; among their number were those who could not only understand for themselves. None of the books before us lends any support to a view commonly held in this country that the Soviet Government persecutes the clergy and breaks up religious services. Mr. Lawton gives indications of hostility to religion and the Trade Union Report admits (p. 10) that "at one time propaganda against religion took the extremely crude form of mock ceremonies outside the churches, accompanied by ugly and grotesque effigies of priests and church images." But this had official authorization and has been stopped. The Bolsheviks regard religion as the opium of the people. There are all too many people about other countries as well as in Russia who give a certain justification to a position which is otherwise indiscriminating and prejudiced. The Orthodox Russian Church, which was once a strong arm of the Tzarist Government, has, as a result of the Revolution, been disestablished and outlawed. But readers of the *Congregational Quarterly* will not expect us to shed tears over that. Contact with representatives of the Russian Church led me to think that the baptism of fire through which she has passed purified her. Mr. Lawton says (p. 250) that hundreds of bishops were imprisoned in prison. I do not know whether this is a literal statement of fact, whether they are suffering for Christ's sake or because of their hostility to the present government.

As to the question who are the governors of Russia, M. Karlgren has an interesting chapter, entitled "The supreme power of the Proletariate." It should be read in conjunction with the chapter on the Soviet system of government in the Trade Union Report. The term proletariate embraces industrial workers only, and by no means all of these. It is the Communist Party that really governs. The non-party proletariate are excluded from all participation in political or social work. M. Karlgren asks: Can the so-called *élite* of the proletariate, the Communist Party, be

considered as such a perfect proxy for the proletariat? " (p. 44). It is always difficult in every system to secure a perfect proxy. We succeed in this enlightened country. The leaders in Russia may be but they are capable, sincere, honest and passionately in earnest. In Tzarist days the iron entered into their very souls. Can we be surprised at their hatred of the system that enslaved their country and brought it to ruin? A show of hands is the mode of election. The Trade Union Report informs us that there is no demand for secrecy. The method, however, lends itself to abuses which Mr. Lawton and M. Karlgren are not slow to detect and expose. There may not be economic pressure, but there appears to be pressure of another kind, sometimes from the least reputable and most voluble members of the community. A healthy sign is the growth of an Opposition. Two of the strongest men of the party—Trotsky and Zinovief—are the leaders of the Opposition and Mr. Lawton points out (p. 499) that none of the prominent leaders of the Opposition has been exiled or executed.

The books we are considering devote considerable space to the changes in the economic policy of the Soviet Government. Mr. Farbman's account of this is perhaps the clearest, though he admits that it is not easy to do. It was the real greatness of Lenin, as Max Eastman points out, that when the other leaders held fast to their theoretic Marxian economics he stood alone and stood alone for a fundamental revision of their economic policy. In *Marx, Lenin and the Science of Revolution*, Eastman gives a very thorough criticism of the Marxian economics and the Marxian theory of history. But both he and Farbman show that Lenin was bigger than the theory. When he came up against facts that would not square with the theory, the latter had to go. "The essential expression of Lenin's genius was the creation of an organization of purposive revolutionists capable of standing above and outside all specific forms and formulations" (Eastman, p. 10). He hated slogans and was never caught by an epigram. It was his personal courage and prestige that brought militant Communism to an end and reintroduced a competitive market, the wages system, and a modified form of capitalism into Soviet Russia. There is evidence to show that Lenin as far back as 1918 worked his hardest to extricate his party from the policy of nationalization to which they were committed. When the grain of the peasants was requisitioned in return for labour tickets they simply refused to produce more than was necessary for themselves. That was a hard lesson for Marxian economists. It seems clear from all reports that it has only been by a return to elements in the pre-Communist system that Bolshevism has survived. Lenin was charged with being a *petit bourgeois* himself, but he met this criticism with such words as: "manœuvre," "retreat," "slowly build up." In one important matter Lenin was wrong. He retained the Marxian belief in the imminence of a World Social Revolution, that it was only in countries where capitalism had reached its most developed phase that Communism would arrive and maintain itself. And he recognized that it could only succeed in a backward country like Russia when it had triumphed elsewhere. Trotsky and Zinovief appear now to realize that a Socialist Revolution is unlikely in the West, and the dilemma in which some of the Bolshevik leaders find themselves is how to prevent the economic collapse of a system that cannot maintain itself in isolation, but must attract foreign trade and foreign capital. It seems to be dawning on them that capitalism may contain within it the seeds of the secret of its own redemption. If that is so the West may proceed by evolution rather than by revolution.

Max Eastman's analysis of the ideology of Bolshevism is both acute and searching. He brings out the real points of difference between Lenin and Marx, much to the advantage of the former, who was by far the greater

abler man. Marx asserted that instinctive economic activities automatically produce a social revolution. The contradictions within capitalism automatically destroy it. All one has to do is "wait and see." Lenin denied this and in doing so he rejected the Marxian philosophy of history. With Lenin it was not so much what history did with you that counted, but what you did with history. "All philosophies of history and determinism can do nothing but get in the way of practical science" (Lenin, p. 160). He was an engineer of revolution, and made of this a social science, in which he assigned to the mind and will of a resolute man the functions assigned by Marx to material force. Marx declared the dictatorship of the proletariat to be an *inevitable* result of the economic development of the proletariat. Lenin maintained that this could only be achieved by the deliberate and conscious will and purpose of individuals. Lenin succeeded, as Max Eastman points out (p. 162) in producing a change which is metaphysically supposed to result from a "ripening" or "contradiction" in capitalism, in a society in which those conditions are entirely unripe. I often wish I could persuade some of my English friends who are enthusiastic Marxians and admirers of the Russian Revolution that it was only because Lenin was great enough to see the important points both in the philosophy and the economics of the Revolution that the Revolution has achieved whatever success is claimed for it. I hope I have not put that unfairly. Mr. Lawton and M. Karlgren both of them, particularly in relation to the Fine Arts the Bolsheviks have done good service to Russia and to the world. It is pathetic to find that the owners of valuable collections are now the caretakers or curators of museums, losing their former possessions. It is to be hoped that they find some compensation in the knowledge that these possessions are enjoyed by the masses of the people. The Soviet Government has entirely revised the educational system of Dmitri Tolstoy and Pobiedonostzev, who substituted the classical languages and literatures for the natural sciences. We should have expected M. Karlgren in his chapter on "The Third Line of Defence" to stress the historic bias that has been introduced into all education from the primary schools to the Universities. But the history of education in Russia in the nineteenth century shows us that the Bolsheviks are not the only ones who introduced bias into education. When a stick has been bent very far in one direction it is often necessary to bend it very far the other way before you can get it straight. At any rate there are fewer illiterates in Russia than in England. Mr. Lawton's proletarian university students are not prejudiced, but I suspect a propagandist motive may have perhaps unconsciously governed their selection. At least it may be said that M. Shcharysky, the Commissar of Education, is a keen and capable educational enthusiast. He is extraordinarily outspoken and if he is given the chance will produce some order out of a chaos which can hardly be termed a

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CURRENT LITERATURE.

"Read not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and consider."—FRANCIS BACON

"A good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life."—JOHN MILTON.

(The place of publication is London, and the date 1926 or 1927 otherwise stated.)

Baron Friedrich von Hügel. *Selected Letters, 1896-1924.* Edited by Memoir by BERNARD HOLLAND. Dent. 21s.

Essays and Address on the Philosophy of Religion. By FRIEDRICH HÜGEL. Second Series. Dent. 15s.

The Faith of the Roman Church. By C. C. J. MARTINDALE, S.J. Methuen. 5s.

The eagerness with which we waited the promised volume of Baron Hügel's *Letters* was due partly to the fact that we had never found his letters easy to read and partly to an intense desire to discover the secret of the men of great intellectual power like von Hügel and Lord Acton (who, like the Baron apparently neither loved nor appreciated) remained loyal to Roman Catholicism. The letters, which date from 1896 almost to the end of Hügel's death, are prefixed by a Memoir by Mr. Bernard Holland, who was able to live to see his work in print. The Memoir is a competent piece of work, though probably in proof Mr. Holland would have removed certain obviousnesses and strange words like "resultful" and "respect-worthy" (which, however, he may easily have caught from his subject!) and corrected some slips. On the whole the volume is free from misprints, though there are a few errors on pp. 237 and 311.

Friedrich von Hügel, Baron of the Holy Roman Empire, was born in 1812, when his father, an Austrian Ambassador, was 57. On his father's retirement in 1867 the family came to live in England. Friedrich's religiousness, which was to become more pronounced in later years, first appeared when he was quite young. In 1873, he married the sister of Sidney Webb and settled in London, though he was not naturalized until 1896. Influenced by the Dominican, Raymond Hocking, and by the French Abbé Huvelin, he was a convinced Roman Catholic, though he was friendly with Protestants like Eucken and Troeltsch on the Continent. He was one of the Modernists whose Roman Catholic bed was never able to lie on, and many of the letters here printed are to Loisy and Tyrrell, who had cast out the Roman Church, and to Miss Petre, Tyrrell's biographer and the historian of Roman Modernism. Von Hügel himself expected to be "deprived of the Sacraments," and had to exercise all kinds of "imprudences" (p. 210) to avoid misinterpretation at Rome and elsewhere. His chief writings—*The Mystical Element in Religion* and *Eternal Life*—are written in an involved style which increases the difficulties in the subject matter, but they are the solid contributions to religious thinking of one who pondered much and was never satisfied with the journalist's easy clarity and smart confidence on profound subjects. These, with *The German Soul* and two volumes of *Essays and Addresses* (1921 and 1926) comprise von Hügel's literary achievement.

How does a survey of the Baron's life and work impress a Congregational reviewer? Naturally we begin by expressing disappointment with the amount of the literary output. Ill-health dogged his life and prevented work for more than a limited period each day, and it is clear not only that he worked slowly but that he lacked the desire or the power to avail himself to the full of the help an efficient secretary can give. When we remember that at no period does the Baron appear to have been obliged to worry about the means of livelihood, but was able to give all the time health permitted to his books, we must regret that so fine a mind has passed on so little to posterity.

It is also evident that the clash of mind with mind, which is the essence of discussion, would have helped considerably in clarifying much of von Hügel's thinking and perhaps in modifying some of his conclusions. He did his best—a brave best—to overcome the handicap of deafness, as the Memoir and the letters abundantly show. At discussions he would speak immediately after the paper, the manuscript of which he had read beforehand, and while he would send to authors (there are many instances) criticisms of their books fitted into a curious Teutonic framework.

"I like . . . this . . . and . . . that. Pp. 179 and 248 are fine! And pp. 134 and 186 appeal to me. But there are points on pp. 146ff and 300ff with which I cannot agree."

This favourite term is significant, alike in the pregnancy of its meaning, and in the fact that it is scarcely English—costing, costingly. All good work is *costing*; the Christian life is a *costing* life; witness is to be *costingly* made, labour *costingly* done. Were it only for his insistence on this idea of life—a kind of Christianized Carlylean gospel of work—von Hügel will be worth reading for many a generation.

He died in the Church he loved, for she did not cast out this devoted son as she did his friends. He believed in Roman Catholicism, recording his

very deliberate, now long tested, conviction that, be the sins of commission or of omission chargeable against the Roman Catholic authorities or people what they may, in that faith and practice is to be found a massiveness of the Supernatural, a sense of the World invisible, of God as the soul's true home, such as exists elsewhere more in fragments and approximations and more intermittently.

He was convinced that in the Roman Catholic Church

resides a depth and tenderness and heroism of Christian sanctity greater and richer than, as a matter of fact, is to be found elsewhere.

We do not accept this contention, of course, but there is sufficient force in another presentation of it to make us examine our Free Church life carefully. He says:

I see, it is true, and I rejoice in the sight, that countless souls have been and are deeply, spiritually Christian, in every form of Protestantism. Yet I cannot but note that Catholicism, *at its best*, still somehow produces saints of a depth of other-worldliness, of a delicate appealing heroism, and of a massiveness of spiritual wisdom, greater than I can find elsewhere. And indeed I note that men so much outside our system as William James are generally ready enough to admit this.

. . . But I was so much struck with the keen insight of our Bishop Spalding, of Peoria, U.S.A. (whose family have been Americans for two hundred years), when, in Rome three years ago, he developed before me with astonishing eloquence the contention, that history had conclusively manifested and established two things: the impossibility, for any society and state that would live and grow, of the Spanish, physical force, sheer authority, and blind obedience type of Catholicism; and the incapacity of pure Protestantism, *e.g.*, the Free Churches of America, to produce the very deepest and largest saints.

No doubt it was von Hügel's belief in the power of Roman Catholicism to produce saints that kept him within the bosom of the Church. Nevertheless his position led him into all manner of queer, equivocal situations that

would have been so irritating to many people as to be impossible. Sitting on the Committee which finally issued *The Army and Religion*, he is unable to pray with his fellow-members, saying :

I have carefully noted how frequent, and how fairly prolonged is going to joint prayer at the meeting. I am, of course, *most* glad and grateful that this is so. But it has occurred to me that you might be willing—that you might possibly even like—that I should say some words—give some explanation of, or interpretation to my abstention, not from praying for our work, nor from praying at those special times for it, but from joining in the same room with all of you. I may not do that. But I think I could say some words that would combine loyalty to Rome with other things which you would all fully like and endorse.

Nor could he speak in a parish church :

I could not ask such a convention to make an exception for me as to speaking in one of your Parish Churches. Yet how could I expect my people to understand if I *did* speak there ? I should, by so doing, go against two instinctive principles and practises, grown stiff and stark since how many centuries—that no Catholic layman is to speak in a Catholic Church ; and no Catholic, be he layman or priest is to speak in a non-Catholic (non-R.C.) Church. I know that Fr. Bede Jarrett has been speaking in some Nonconformist Chapel ; but then Fr. B.J. has never ranked as a modernist, and Nonconformist Chapels are felt by my people more as Lecture Halls than as Churches.

Apparently too he was unable to recognize that there is quite as much sacrificial poverty in Protestant as in Roman Churches. If only he could have lived for a month in the Manse of a Congregational minister with the minimum stipend and three children !

Speaking of Sadhu Sundar Singh, he says :

Now what interested me so deeply in his history was to note that Bible and ecclesiastical Protestant missionaries of India have had great difficulty in accepting him, and have had to work hard to interpret him. Why ? Because, as he is well aware himself, he is neither more nor less than a Friar, à la St. Francis ; and because poor dear Protestantism, as such, is simply without the sense that *that* is just simply what our Lord and His followers did and were, and that something of the sort is an essential of full Christianity. Of course, no Catholic, indeed no Greek or Russian, or Oriental, Church Christian, would have the slightest difficulty

Most amazing of all, however, are the references to celibacy.

Certainly I know, beyond the possibility of doubt, that I myself could never have been regained by any but a celibate cleric to purity and to God—however much, since I was thus costingly regained, I may appreciate the beneficence of a married clergy, and however clearly I may perceive the danger and drawbacks of too large an extension of obligatory celibacy. . . . Now both these men would have remained incredibly smaller had they listened to the subtle explainers away of the renunciation, visible as well as invisible, preached and practised broadcast by the central figures of the Synoptic Gospels, and if they had settled comfortably into a married life. Like their great predecessor Aquinas and St. Francis, they required the height of celibacy from which to shine, and to rain down upon the just and unjust amidst their dearly-loved fellow men.

A priest like Loyson who has married and abandoned the “ priceless force of “austerity” is of no use to the Modernists, for he “ puts himself out of court for pleading effectively for the difficult reforms we require ” (p. 142. cf. p. 184). Believing—and we share his belief—that Christianity “ is essentially, centrally, a heroism,” von Hügel seems to have regarded celibacy as the greatest of heroic acts : he held that Jesus recommended celibacy and practised it deliberately, and that Paul had the same view. Indeed he goes so far as to say, in discussing celibacy in the New Testament,

The fact quite obviously is that Protestantism has done much for the cultivation of the natural virtues, but has so long fought shy of the heroic, supernatural acts and life, as to have pretty well lost the simple sense of text upon text of the Gospels.

Passages like these we have quoted make us close this study of von Hügel's life still trying to understand how a mind so acute and sensitive on

points could accept the unhappy position into which he was forced by the Church he loved. In his view religion was woven of three strands—institutional-historical, the mystical-intuitive, and the intellectual—all equally essential, but repeatedly in these letters he lays supreme stress on the first of the three, and gives credit to institutional religion to which it is by no means always entitled.

Possibly, however, when all argument is finished, it will be recognized that different temperaments require different types of religion, and that Christianity has room for all. Certain it is that a religion which costs, which requires men to secure that self-conquest which is peace, is the religion of more than a day. Perhaps the time is not distant when we shall all be able to follow our differing forms of religious belief and worship without being irritated or offended by those who differ from us, and then, in von Hügel's phrase, "fruitfulness will succeed to fever."

The feeling of helplessness amounting almost to despair that we had in reading von Hügel's letters came upon us again as we read Father Martindale. We had been led to hope that he would present the ideals and doctrines of the Church in a way that might command our understanding and enlist our sympathy even though we could not accept them. But this book presents a religion absolutely alien to religion as we conceive it: as far as the east is from the west so far is this scheme of things from the simplicity of the faith which is in Christ Jesus. Rigid, mechanical, dogmatic beyond measure (a Catholic knows that the next world exists "perfectly well, because he is right so") the whole conception seems a travesty of Christianity, the Gospel bled white.

EDITOR.

Reverend Richard Baxter under the Cross. By F. J. POWICKE. Cape. 15s.

Richard Burke. By BERTRAM NEWMAN. Bell. 7s. 6d.

James Bryce. By H. A. L. FISHER. 2 vols. Macmillan. 32s.

The second volume of Dr. Powicke's *Baxter* deals with the years "under the cross" (1662-91). It is marked by the scholarly enthusiasm that was present in the first volume, and it enables us to see one of the most remarkable episodes of the seventeenth century under criticism and persecution, in sorrow and in storm. We are glad that Dr. Powicke brings out in a way previous biographers have failed to do the part that Margaret Baxter played in her husband's life. No doubt the psychologists will seize upon her character as a suitable one for analysis, but it is clear that Baxter could not have got through his work had it not been for the help his wife gave him in many ways. Dr. Powicke's delight in the great Nonconformist by no means blinds him to his blemishes. Baxter never saw Cromwell and the "Congregational Party" with unprejudiced eyes, while other defects of temper and tact are brought out in the masterly appreciation with which the study concludes. The volume and the excellent summary of Baxter's ecclesiastical position in the space are perhaps the best things in the volume: they both admirably illustrate Dr. Powicke's grip of the subject. The format of the book is very pleasing, but the price is high: once or twice it is difficult to discover where a quotation ends and the author's exposition begins: there is a wrong, caused by a misprint, on p. 254: and sometimes the printer has not run off the copy's abbreviations, which is unfortunate when it makes a revered name like Dr. Powicke call "the Baxter MSS." "the B. MSS."

We warmly congratulate Dr. Powicke on bringing this arduous task to so successful an issue. We are proud that it has fallen to a Congregationalist to give us the classic biography of Baxter.

Mr. Newman calls his namesake the Cardinal "the analogue of Burke in the sphere of religion." It is natural, therefore, that, having given the world an able study of the great Oratorian, Mr. Newman should now attempt to appraise the great statesman, an attempt which is as successful as was the previous book. Mr. Newman is a shrewd and penetrating critic, with no equal powers of description. His sketch fills out Morley's *Burke*, and makes the reader determine to turn up again some of Burke's more famous passages. We can almost feel the glow still of such periods as: "But the age of chivalry is gone. That of sophisters, economists, and calculators has succeeded; and the glory of Europe is extinguished for ever."

Mr. H. A. L. Fisher's *James Bryce* is pleasant reading, though it is marred by slips and misprints to a degree quite unusual in a Macmillan book. Mr. Fisher, by personal acquaintance with Bryce, as well as by his academic and political experience and his historical interests, was just the man for the task. Bryce lived a long life and a full life: his energy was unlimited, his thirst for knowledge insatiable. At an early age—the age at which Carlyle wrote his *Institutes*—he made in *The Holy Roman Empire* a contribution to learning the value of which time has confirmed, and of his subsequent work Mr. Fisher's words give an apt summary:

"Bryce was a man of the widest horizons. He had a planetary mind. It would be perhaps no exaggeration to surmise that in his knowledge of this planet and its inhabitants he stands first so far among the descendants of Adam. Let it be remembered that he had travelled in every part of the globe save the Malay Peninsula, Borneo, Japan, using his eyes and ears all day and a great part of the night, and employing every available opportunity for learning what the local authorities had to tell of the lands through which he voyaged, that he was geologist, botanist, historian, lawyer, politician, mountain climber, that his memory was of extraordinary strength and vividness, that he lived with faculties unimpaired to the age of 83, that his circle of friends and acquaintances in all civilized countries, more particularly in the United States, was very large, so that he had probably in the course of his long and strenuous life seen more places, known more knowledgeable people, studied more sciences and read more instructive primary matter than anybody in the modern world whose name readily occurs to us."

Add to this that he declined invitations to write the biographies of Gladstone, Bright, and Harcourt, and that his service to humanity and devotion to duty were firmly based on religious faith, and some notion of one of the most striking of our contemporaries may be obtained.

EDITOR

A Year Among the Persians. By EDWARD G. BROWNE. Camb. Press.

The year, as everyone interested in Persia knows, was 1887-88. The Cambridge Syndics have done well in re-publishing this famous book, and Sir E. Denison Ross's introductory memoir is a sheer delight. Moreover, there is a frontispiece photogravure of the author in Persian dress which is an introduction in itself. In printing, material and binding alike the re-issue is worthy of the great scholar who did so much to rouse Englishmen to the true realization of the responsibilities involved in our economic and political connexions with Oriental countries.

It is indeed strange that the Oriental chairs in our great universities have so often stultified the intentions of their founders, and have treated their subjects merely from the literary and linguistic points of view; whereas most

of them were founded to promote sympathetic understanding in religious matters, and in that commercial contact which, inevitable as it is, is liable, without proper sympathy, to lead to disaster—as we see in China at the moment. If only the scholars could realize that language and literature are but instruments for the expression of a culture—keys to unlock the heart's door! Beneath all culture lies religious faith; and its intellectual forms—philosophies and rituals—reveal its nature, whilst in commerce, in industry, those *nuances* of mind and heart which are the blossoming of religion inevitably play a part for good or ill.

In Browne's early years this was far less understood even than it is now. The boy's enthusiasm struggled against the indifference or hostility of his surroundings. He tells us how he got to know a Turkish-speaking Irish curate who had served as a private in the Crimea, and how later he made friends with "an eccentric old Persian, *Mīrzā Muḥammad Bākīr* . . . who lived in a squalid little room in Limehouse, surrounded by piles of dusty books, mostly theological treatises in Persian and Arabic, and who had . . . been successively a Shi'ite Muḥammadan, a Dervish, a Christian, an Atheist and a Jew, and . . . had finished by elaborating a religious system of his own, which he called 'Islam-Christianity.'" With such beginnings it is perhaps no wonder that Browne was never quite an orthodox Christian. The medical studies on which his father insisted, "favoured," he tells us, "the development of this (pantheistic) habit of mind; for physiology, when it does not encourage materialism, encourages mysticism." There are many who can testify to the truth of this, even those whose medical training has been far less complete than was Browne's.

Perhaps the most dramatic passage in the book is that which tells how, when the young graduate was on the point of leaving the university

the luck of which I had despaired came to me at last. Returning to my rooms on the eve of 30th May, 1887, I found a telegram lying on the table. I opened it with indifference, which changed, in the moment I grasped its purport, to ecstatic joy. I had that day been elected a Fellow of my College. So at last I was really to go to Persia. About that there could be no question. For I had long determined to go, if I got the chance; and now, not only had the opportunity come, but, in view of the probability that the university would soon require a resident teacher of Persian, I was urged by my friends at Cambridge to spend the first year of my fellowship in the way which would best qualify me for the post.

The result was one of the most happy and valuable which has ever followed an election to a Fellowship—not only this famous book, but a long life spent in that fruitful scholarship which is the only secure basis for the furthering of international understanding. For such understanding is based in the end on personal friendships, and such friendships can only exist where there has been a real and successful attempt on each side to enter into the mentality of another culture. Without both sympathy and hard work there can be no such success. Browne had the genius for both. It is impossible, so soon after his death, to estimate the extent of England's debt to him, but it cannot be slight. The only English history of Persian literature of any value is his, and it is probable that the remarkable *Bābī* movement might still be almost unknown to Englishmen but for him. Even these solid contributions are of less importance to us at present than the sympathetic contact between England and Persia which he did so much to foster during his long tenure of the Cambridge fellowship. To him, Persia fulfilled his dreams. No native-born could have written more enthusiastically than he of the first view of *Shīrāz*, the city of *Hāfiz* and *Sa'dī*.

We were now at that point, known to all students of *Hāfiz*, called *Tang-i-Allāhu Akbar*, because whoever first beholds *Shīrāz* hence is constrained by the exceeding beauty of the sight to cry out in admiration "*Allāhu Akbar*"—"God is most great!" At our very feet, in a grassy, fertile plain girt with purple hills

(on the loftier summits of which the snow still lingered), and half concealed amidst gardens of dark, stately cypresses, wherein the rose and the judas-tree in luxuriant abundance struggled with a host of other flowers for the mastery of colour, sweet and beautiful in its garb of spring verdure which clothed the very roofs of the bazaars, studded with many a slender minaret, and many a turquoise-hued dome, lay the home of Persian culture, the mother of Persian genius, the sanctuary of poetry and philosophy, Shirāz. Words cannot describe the rapture which overcame me as, after many a weary march, I gazed at length on the reality of that whereof I had so long dreamed, and found the reality not merely equal to, but far surpassing the ideal which I had conceived.

Those who knew Browne personally testify that he became so Oriental in his manner of thinking as never afterwards to give the impression of one whose mental processes were those of the purely Western European. Not the least interesting strands in the book are those in which he records his experience of his numerous and eagerly-sought conversations with Bābīs and Zoroastrians. In Yezd, the chief Zoroastrian centre, where the main remnant of the ancient faith is found, he actually lived in a pavilion in a garden which belonged to a Zoroastrian family, who taught him to drink wine in the stately Zoroastrian fashion. The old gardener was called Jamshīd and his little son was named Khusrau! There is an enthralling sentence which tells us how, a few miles outside this city

we were accosted, to my great delight, by two of the yellow-robed Zoroastrians, whom I now saw for the first time in the raiment which, in Yezd and Kirmān, serves to distinguish them, even at a distance, from their Muhammadan fellow-citizens, but which in other parts of Persia they are permitted to lay aside. The Erivānī asked them what was their religion, to which they proudly replied, "*Zardushtī, Kiyānī*" (Zoroastrian, Achæmenian).

When we consider that the few thousand *guebres* (Zoroastrians) still living in Yezd and Kirmān and in Teherān, are the remaining believers in that once great faith to which the influential and wealthy Parsee communities of Gujerat still adhere, this passage is not without interest. The Indian Parsees to-day number a million, and many of the financially powerful families who control the destinies of the industrial India now coming into being, look to Persia and the down-trodden groups of *guebres* there as the authentic matrix of their faith.

To those, again, who believe that that strange force, religion, lies at the root in some way of all human actions, the Bābī movement which was still sweeping Persia in 1888 has a far more than temporary interest. Browne tells us:

Often have I heard Persians who did not themselves belong to the proscribed sect tell with admiration how Suleymān Khān, his body pierced with well-nigh a score of wounds, in each of which was inserted a lighted candle, went to the place of execution singing with exultation:—

"In one hand the wine-cup, in the other the tresses of the Friend,
Such a dance do I desire in the midst of the market-place!"

There are few books which introduce us so deeply into that world of thought so different from our own, but which, as the European power most deeply committed in Oriental countries, it is of vital importance that we should try to understand. To us the association of love-lyrics with philosophy and with a faith for which men gladly die, is strange. To Browne it was natural, as natural as it is to our great North Indian poet, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, who to-day writes Nietzschean philosophy in Persian quatrains. And yet he returned, and lived and died a quiet scholar's life in Cambridge, never losing that enthusiasm for men which showed him that scholarship can never be of importance unless it is used in the interest of those political and commercial and religious movements which so powerfully affect human life. It seems a far cry from the love-lyrics of Hāfiz to the vast operations of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. But that huge enterprise would have been impossible without

the links of understanding which have been slowly forged between England and Persia from Sir John Malcolm's day until our own. In the latter half of the last century Persian rulers grew ashamed of barbarous autocratic actions and of bloody religious persecutions. The reactions of the Shāh Nāsir-ud-Dīn's successive visits to Europe were very evident for good in the conduct of his government during his later years. We remember our own constant fear of a Russian invasion of India through Persia—that long nightmare of our Indian administrators. Yes, Persia was not a negligible factor to us in the nineteenth century, and even without her oil, much more with it, she will not be so in this one. It is not mere romantic curiosity which makes books like this important for us. We have to learn that Oriental peoples are men like, and yet unlike, ourselves, so that we may deal with them as equals, no longer as inferiors. Only a few months ago the writer was speaking to a Persian who knew Reza Khān, the present Shāh, when he was the door-keeper of a mission institution in Teherān. So quickly do men's fortunes rise and fall, in the East as in the West. And East and West are coming closer daily. Cobham's flight to Australia marks an epoch as significantly as did the voyage of the *Pelican*. And then there is always Russia—the unknown factor. It is in Persia that Russia and India join hands. And so in every way the moment was propitious for the re-publication of Browne's great book.

J. P. NAISH.

Jesus Christ and His Revelation. By VACHER BURCH, D.D. Chapman and Hall. 9/-.

The main point of interest in this book for most readers will be found in its account of the newly-discovered passage in Josephus concerning Jesus which has been so much discussed in the public press. Whether Dr. Burch has succeeded in making out a case for its genuineness must remain a matter of doubt. He certainly appears to exaggerate its significance and value. There are also some interesting excerpts given from the Talmud about Jesus, though Dr. Burch's interpretation of them seems rather problematical. One of the most important things in the book is a new exegesis of *Matt.* 16¹⁸⁻²⁰. For the difficult phrase, "the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it," Dr. Burch suggests an emendation which means "all the dead in Hades shall not prevail against it." The discussion of detailed points is more valuable than the general argument of the book. Dr. Burch is a technical linguistic scholar of a high order, but it cannot be said that he appreciates the real problems of N.T. theology. It is impossible, for instance, to settle the meaning of the phrase "The Kingdom of Heaven" in the gospels by quoting an Armenian document which regards it as a synonym for "the religion of Jesus."

H. T. ANDREWS.

The Earliest Latin Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul. By ALEXANDER SOUTER, M.A., D.Lit. Oxford Univ. Press. 15s.

This is a peculiarly interesting book, if only for the Preface in which Professor Souter has taken his readers into his confidence by an explanation of the purposes and hopes with which he has written it. He approaches his subject as a Christian believer, who regards the study of Scripture as of the utmost value. Further, he believes that, of all portions of Scripture, the epistles of Paul are the most important for the Christian life of those who are not Jews and are the inheritors of the Græco-Roman civilization. They contain, in fact, the message of Jesus, as delivered in all purity to the Gentiles. As such they are the most valuable writings in the world. In the present state of historical knowledge it is highly hazardous to separate the permanent and the temporary elements in St. Paul.

Professor Souter accepts as genuine all the epistles of Paul addressed to Churches, including *Ephesians*, and also the *Epistle to Philemon*. He can only accept the Pastorals, however, as the work of a Paulinist, who incorporated in them genuine fragments of St. Paul's letters.

There follows an explanation why Professor Souter has chosen the study of the Latin rather than the Greek Commentaries on St. Paul. He says that at an early age he came to see that modern scholarship was neglecting Latin in favour of Greek, and later, that this neglect was reflected in a widespread disregard of the Latin Commentaries on the N.T. It is to help to redress the balance that Professor Souter has written this book, containing studies of the Commentaries on St. Paul of Victorinus, Ambrosiaster, Jerome, Augustine and Pelagius. It is evident that the work has been a real labour of love. The notes on the different authors, their origin, education and development, the Biblical text they used, their style and method, are all full of interest and value. The book furnishes a most felicitous introduction to the study of their Commentaries. An adequate review would need to follow Professor Souter into all the minutiae of scholarship in which he so much delights and is so much at home; and it should be written by someone with a Latin erudition comparable to his own if only in the way of approximation. Meanwhile it is a pleasure to record a first impression of the admirable combination in it of the highest scholarship with ease of exposition and, what is above all most valuable in a work of this kind, the power to create sympathy and communicate something of the author's own enthusiasm for his subject. Moreover, the value of the book will remain, even if we do not share Professor Souter's view that St. Paul's Epistles must take precedence over the Gospels; even if we put the Gospels first, the Pauline Epistles must be ranked next to them as an authentic exposition of Christianity, and all study that serves in any way to help us to understand St. Paul must be of high worth to the Christian Church.

ROBERT S. FRANKS.

An Adventure in Moral Philosophy. By WARNER FITE. Methuen. 10s. 6d.

This book was first published in America under the title *Moral Philosophy, the Critical View of Life*, but its new title describes it better. It is a remarkably stimulating and somewhat exasperating work. Professor Fite starts from the Socratic dictum that the "unexamined life is not fit for human living." He takes the whole of life for his province and discusses it from every point of view with the utmost freedom and with some originality. The book well repays reading, but anyone who looks to it for a systematic moral philosophy will be grievously disappointed. Its seventeen chapters are not so much chapters in a book as a series of brilliant essays on all kinds of subjects, the only thread of connexion discernible among them being an attempt to set forth an ethical interpretation of life in modern terms. It is therefore by no means an easy book to review, and it is particularly difficult to give any kind of summary of its teaching. Professor Fite recognizes this himself and describes his aim in the following terms: "In the end what is being presented is a point of view; and the last term in a point of view is not the top story of a house, its security guaranteed by the solidity of the under structure, but an horizon, where vision is dimmest and least certain and thought is more than ever of the nature of opinion." At the same time he is seeking to attain truth in terms of what he calls satisfied imagination, which he regards as the only way to an immediate experience of reality. He distinguishes between truth and verification and between truth and fact, and so tends to find his ultimate end in a religion which so far we only see through a glass darkly. He ends with the following injunction: "Be sure that your words and deeds are significant and not

sound and gesture. Such I conceive to be the whole meaning of truth morality." This may seem a lame and impotent conclusion, and it is no real idea of the wealth and versatility of the discussions through which Professor Fite leads up to it. His point of view is essentially modern, and he has evidently been greatly influenced by Croce, but he is nothing more than independent, and, however much his readers may disagree with him, they cannot resent his sometimes cavalier treatment of their favourite theories, they can hardly fail to enjoy his fresh and suggestive discussions.

W. B. SELBIE.

Education among Primitive People. By W. D. HAMBLY. Macmillan. 25s.

Mr. Hambly is a well-known anthropologist who has had considerable experience of research work among primitive peoples. In the present book he deals with the whole subject of the care and training of children among primitive peoples, regarding education in its widest possible sense as a preparation for both individual and communal life. After an introductory chapter on the Relation of Education in Backward Races to Morality, Social Concepts and Handicrafts, he goes on to deal with Child Welfare among the Primitive Peoples in general. He then has two long chapters on the General and Specialised Education of Boys, and another on the Preparation of Girls for the General and Specialised Functions of Tribal Life, and ends with a chapter on the Bearing of the various Educational Methods. In carrying out this programme he draws his facts and illustrations from primitive peoples of all races and in all parts of the world, and his book should therefore prove of the greatest value to all those who have to work among peoples of the primitive culture, whether missionaries, traders or administrators. Mr. Hambly summarises his conclusions as follows: "The so-called backward races have not yet found themselves to be educationists, teachers, psychologists and disciplinarians of no mean order; though they have graduated only in the academy whose schoolmaster is a stern discipline of natural consequences. At every point of our chapters dealing with maternity and child welfare; the utilitarian value of play; preparation of boys and girls for adult life; selection and utilisation of special ability; and the formative value of legends, stories, religious ideas, and disciplinary object lessons; the education of to-day may profit by the mistakes of primitive man, while at the same time he may find ideals worthy of emulation." The book is admirably illustrated with photographs and drawings.

W. B. SELBIE.

Psychology Applied to Education. By JAMES WARD. Camb. Press. 10s. 6d.

There are those who deny that psychology is entitled to be called a science. We do not agree; but nevertheless we believe that such people are a peril to the community than those who claim for it a precision as compelling as that which is allowed to mathematics. The danger arises, of course, when it is sought to apply the laws of this so-called science to the practical affairs of life and to legislate upon their implications. You have, for example, a University psychologist in America collecting and arranging a formidable array of statistics about criminals, and then, as a result of his analyses and comparisons and in the name of a deterministic and mechanical psychology, recommending that criminals should be treated without sentimentality and that a third conviction should bring with it automatically the death penalty. If that should be the issue of letting psychologists loose against the criminals we shall be prudent to refuse them access to the courts. It is tempting to make the sweeping assertion that no one is competent to apply psychology to anything under the sun who is not both

a philosopher and a humanist in addition to being a psychologist any rate we hold that it is because the late Professor James Ward wrote these things that the book under review is of outstanding value and importance.

This book consists of a series of lectures, almost all of which were delivered so far back as 1880. The only one which can be called recent is the last, on "Personality the Final Aim of Education," which was delivered in 1917. Hence it might be thought that the book is largely out of date for of late years the literature on education has been extensive and contributions to psychology have been many. And yet out of date it certainly is not. Indeed, it should be in the hands of all upon whom is laid the task of teaching or training—and there are few readers of THE CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY to whom this does not apply in some measure.

Naturally some of the author's own views underwent modification after 1880. He did not himself prepare the book for publication (although it is evident that he had contemplated doing so), and therefore we have not from his hand the emendations which, it may be reckoned from the *Psychological Principles* alone, he would have made. Fortunately, however, the work has been edited by Professor Dawes Hicks, who has indicated in footnotes the nature of any substantial modifications which would undoubtedly have appeared if Professor Ward had published it in his lifetime.

The book is written in a most happy vein. While it is not to be neglected by the student looking for a coherent view of the nature of mind and of the development of mental life it is at the same time full of practical suggestions and precepts and of illuminating and chuckle-provoking illustrations.

Professor Ward emphasizes the distinction between educating and providing with information. To do so is, alas! far from sufficient even to-day. Doubtless the distinction is generally admitted—in theory—but practice is slow to conform to its implications. Moreover, associated with this distinction is the question of the end and aim of education; here the author preaches a doctrine which should be taken up and propagated by a host of missionaries who have vowed not to rest until a country is converted. "The value," he says in a fine passage, "of a man or woman of open mind, independent judgment, and moral courage who requires to be convinced and refuses to be cajoled, is only concerned to be right and not afraid to be singular, deferring to reason but not to rank, true to his or her own self, and, therefore, not false to any man; the value of such a man or woman, I say, is priceless: a nation of such would leaven and regenerate the world. That is the true national education at which England should aim."

The editor has provided a good table of contents and an index which may be used with profit after the book has been read.

E. R. MICKLETHWAIT

Brahmarshi Keshub Chunder Sen. By MANILAI C. PAREKH, B.A. Rajahmundry: Oriental Christ House. 5s.

The Hindu View of Life. By S. RADHAKRISHNAN. Allen and Unwin.

The Christian Mission in Africa. By E. W. SMITH. Edinburgh: Holburn. 3s. 6d.

The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life. By JAL DASTUR CURSETI PAVRY, A.M., Ph.D. New York. Columbia University. 12s. 6d.

Keshab Chandra Sen died in 1884, and we fear is to-day in England little more than a name, even to those interested in India and in the influence of Christianity there. Yet his teaching is strangely modern and his life repays the most careful study. A consummate orator, and a great religious

ius, he did more, perhaps, than any other man to make Christ appear of the West, the best possession of India as of Europe. Christ tured his emotions, and yet he remained, in some respects, a Hindu in thinking. Such a man is extraordinarily hard to classify. We may at out the inadequacy of his Christianity, or we may emphasize his wing approximation to Christian truth. It is this latter method that Parekh adopts. His book is of special interest as the work of one who himself was long a member of Keshab's Church of the New Dispensation, who moved on from its position to that of full Christian faith. To Parekh, "Keshab" was "his *guru*," "Jesus Christ" became his "God." His devotion to the devotion of a disciple that Mr. Parekh thus describes this prophet of what he calls "Christo-centric Euro-Asiatic unity." We have and his book of quite unusual interest. Aptly he illustrates from Keshab's speeches the influence on him of Christ's life and teaching. He is inclined to surmise that if Keshab had lived longer he would have continued his development from Unitarianism through Semi-Arianism to the confession of Christ's divinity. That may be, but we have to remember the pantheistic and polytheistic background of Keshab's thought. Readers of Dr. Stanley Jones's *The Christ of the Indian Road*, who have been surprised and pleased at the influence that book reveals which Christ has on many Hindus to-day should read Mr. Parekh's book. They will find that praise of Christ is not new in India, and they may be saved from the extravagant expectations which Dr. Jones's book has aroused in many who do not realize the comprehensive subtlety of Hinduism. Mr. Parekh's book is dedicated to that ever-increasing number of people who begin to believe Christ Jesus to be the fulfilment of all that is good and true and noble in Hinduism, who thus form the Hindu Church of Christ in Hindustan." It is yet another proof that Indian Christians are beginning to do their own thinking and to commend, in Indian fashion, the Christ who ought to be more intelligible to India than to Europe, but who has often been interpreted in India in a way which makes Him appear alien from its life and aspiration. We thank Mr. Parekh for his fascinating book, and would commend it warmly to our readers.

The Hindu View of Life consists of four lectures given last year at Manchester College, Oxford. A man of wide culture, familiar with the philosophies of the West as of the East, and writing with enviable lucidity and charm, no one is better equipped than Prof. Radhakrishnan to interpret to the West that new and purified Hinduism of which he is probably the most distinguished representative. For him, "Hinduism is a movement, not a result; a growing tradition, not a fixed revelation." The very definiteness of Hinduism is for him its glory. "The bewildering polytheism of the masses and the uncompromising monotheism of the classes are for the Hindu the expressions of one and the same force at different levels." "Hinduism absorbs everything that enters into it, magic or superstition, and raises it to a higher level." Hinduism is ready to absorb Christianity. "Differences in name become immaterial for the Hindu, for every name, at its best, connotes the same metaphysical and moral implications." "The past history of Hinduism encourages us to believe that it will be found equal to any emergency that the future may throw upon the field of thought or of history." This is a book which is of only of value and interest to those interested in the study of the religious movements in India. It is also a challenge to Christian thought as incisive as is courteous. Is it enough that Hinduism should be enriched and cleansed by its absorption of Christian ideals, or must we claim for Christ an exclusive place? That is not, as some think, a problem of merely academic interest.

On our answer to it depends our attitude to the Church's task of seeking to lead to full faith in Christ, not ignorant outcasts alone, but those proud of their rich and ancient religious heritage. What that task involves is made admirably clear in this brilliant manifesto of modern Hinduism which deserves the most careful study from all Christian thinkers.

In *The Christian Mission to Africa*, the Literary Superintendent of the British and Foreign Bible Society gives a concise and interesting account of the International Conference on African Missions held in Belgium in September. That great conference was an encouraging sign of the readiness both of missionaries and administrators to recognize the value of African culture and to abandon the endeavour "to substitute a European mind for an African mind." The book is concerned not only with the Presentation of the Gospel to Africans and with Missionary Education, but with such problems as Land and Labour, Health and Medicine, and the Relation of White to Black. It is impossible in the limits of our space to give any adequate idea of its varied contents. It is one of the most encouraging books on Africa we have read for some time, for in it there is the clear recognition that missionaries need more than zeal, and administrators more than a sense of justice; both need that insight and understanding which only study and sympathy can give.

In *The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life* Dr. Pavry gives in little more than a hundred pages a lucid and authoritative description of the Zoroastrian doctrine of the passage of the soul from death to the individual judgment. The value of the book is increased by its many translations not only from the familiar *Gāthās*, *Avestā* and Pahlavi texts but from some late and largely untranslated Parsi-Persian literature. The book has added interest of being written by one who is himself a Parsi Dastur, who studied under Prof. A. V. W. Jackson, at Columbia University. The further volumes are promised dealing with the passage of the soul to Heaven, Hell or the Intermediate Place, and with the General Judgment. When completed, this work will form a very valuable statement of that picturesque eschatology which, next to the person of its prophet, is to many of us the most interesting and attractive feature in Zoroastrian religion.

SYDNEY CAVE.

In Defence of the Faith. By CHARLES GARDNER. Blackwell. 12s. 6d.

The faith that is here defended is Catholic Anglicanism, *i.e.*, Anglicanism that is neither Roman nor Protestant. The author surveys the religious movements of the last three hundred years with a view to showing that Anglicanism, as he understands it, alone among its competitors maintains the positive values of Christianity in all their fullness, without admixture of error. His criticisms of other points of view are shrewd and telling, while his temper is always urbane. He holds that the Christian faith is Jesus Christ, living, dying, ascending, and speaking by the Holy Spirit, and that since Christianity is faith in God's coming into the world, it is essentially supernaturalistic. This view enables him to come down heavily upon the Modernists as represented by Dean Inge, whom he regards as a Neoplatonist rather than as a Christian.

In dealing with Roman Catholicism, Mr. Gardner makes out a strong case against certain developments in doctrine and devotions. He is apparently prepared to swallow a good deal for the sake of re-union with Rome, but thinks Rome badly in need of reformation. In particular he criticises the modern cult of the Virgin and the immoral tendencies of Roman casuistry. He rejects the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and thinks little of

Roman saints. At the same time he has no use for Protestantism and cogent things to say about its weaknesses and failures.

Mr. Gardner is a skilful controversialist within the limits of his assumptions, and courteous withal. His book is well worth reading. Nevertheless there are some curious gaps. One would have thought that 1662 could scarcely be overlooked in any survey of religious thought in this country during the last 300 years. Mr. Gardner does not seem to have heard of congregationalism, and gives the impression that the only direct and abiding note of Puritanism was the Methodist revival! Moreover, we are given to understand that while John Wesley strove with might and main to keep his societies within the Anglican Church, the societies themselves waited with concealed patience for his death in order to cut themselves adrift. We wish that Anglican writers would read Free Church history.

An altogether disproportionate space is given to the Plymouth Brethren, no doubt because they are guiltless of Modernism and are almost Papal in their championship of traditional views. The result is to present a misleading picture of Nonconformity. We confess to a little amusement at the claim that Anglicanism has stimulated the Roman Church in England to maintain a higher *morale* in its priesthood than in other countries, with the conclusion that "a little rivalry of the religious bodies is a good thing." What a dreadful confession for a good Catholic! What would Anglicanism have been like without the stimulus of Nonconformity? We commend Mr. Gardner's conclusion to the zealots for reunion.

The book is very readable, and suggests many points of vital concern to the Churchmen.

E. J. PRICE.

and the Absolute. By T. G. DUNNING, Ph.D. S.C.M. 3s.

Kant's Philosophy of Religion. By CLEMENT C. J. WEBB. Clarendon Press. 12s. 6d.

That the doctrine of the Absolute, found in such writers as Bradley and Bergson, is intellectually inevitable and not without direct service to religion—that theology as (p. 23) "a science of religious experience" (and practically of *all* religious experiences, one gathers) yields upon analysis the certainty of God, freedom and immortality, though sometimes absolutist philosophers under-estimate the contribution offered to metaphysics by religious experience—that there are other experiences besides the religious, and hence that the Absolute is a wider conception than "God" (p. 46: "the rough metaphor may be allowed," God "may be called the Absolute's *opus* towards man")—yet that we are not to speak of a *finite* God—such are Dr. Dunning's theses. And "with but little persuasion," in 83 pp., he would fain make us "sharers of his opinions upon these abstruse issues." In a preface of somewhat reticent praise, Prof. Webb, whose own teaching insists that only in religious experience do we know God as God, expresses agreement "on the whole" with Dr. Dunning's philosophy.

The first half of Prof. Webb's own book, tracing Kant's intellectual development to the end of the three great Critiques, may be described as masterly work—learned, powerful and suggestive. But when we come to *Religion within the Bounds of Mere Reason* the subject seems to grow dull—it may be Kant's fault—and the criticisms offered appear less helpful. It is hard to think that Prof. Webb's mind has bitten on the subject. However, the English reader can now explore Kant's ethical rationalism in minute detail; and there is a short sketch of the *Opus Postumum*, with a reference to fuller treatment of it by Prof. Norman Smith.

ROBERT MACKINTOSH.

The Nature of Deity. By J. E. TURNER, M.A., Ph.D. Allen & Unwin.

In this noteworthy book, Dr. Turner continues his untiring philosophical activity. Having, by an argument of his own¹, established the being of God upon rational principles, Dr. Turner now desires to explore the *nature* of God—still upon the solid if cold basis of philosophical reasoning. It was a reminder of Flint's that Natural Theology ought to include more than Theistic proof. Here then an effort is being made to fill vacant spaces in the Theistic programme by a discussion of what Dr. Turner is content to call, with traditional theology, the "attributes" of God. Dr. Farnell's recent Gifford Lecture with that title is largely historical. Pure philosophy should come more fully to its own in the present volume.

Let it be recalled that Dr. Turner is a Realist. He maintains an irreducible duality of mind and matter, and aims at close dependence of philosophy upon the most recent results of physical science as expounded by Prof. Eddington or Dr. Whitehead. But let it also be remembered that Dr. Turner is a most generous critic of Idealism. In fact, if he is right, the quarrel between Idealism and Realism seems to fade into a technicality.

The upshot of Dr. Turner's philosophy may be put as follows. The evolutionary progress in complexity is at the same time a steady gain in value, and God must be conceived as preparing souls—kindred, in spite of their finitude, to Himself—for fellowship with Him in the love and practice of goodness. Moral evil is a reality. Apparently it is an inevitable feature of the early history of finite moral agents; but evil tends to self-destruction, and will be eliminated—he will not affirm, by annihilation of the evil-doer, yet he does not exclude that possibility. God is creative; not only at the start of the process—there specially, if you wish to say so—but also in the emergent evolution. And there is love, there is fatherhood, there is even "atonement," in Him. By turning to God, then and then only the sinner finds that he can rise "on stepping-stones of his dead self to higher things."

In this view of the universe we recognize a very considerable—though certainly not a complete—reproduction of Christian ideas. One cannot but be moved and impressed by it. It is offered, however, as demonstrated metaphysical truth; "revelation" is never mentioned except to be deprecated; and Schleiermacher and Ritschl are dismissed in a contemptuous footnote, as if there was nothing to be said for their point of view.

Dr. Turner tells us that his fellow-Realist, Prof. John Laird, has blamed the optimistic equalizing of evolution with true progress as "incredibly naïve." He is indignant at this criticism, and appeals to Prof. J. Arthur Thomson in defence of his views. Nevertheless, the position appears somewhat precarious. One may surely believe that, on the whole, the long "road winds uphill," without supposing that by metaphysical necessity in the very nature of things, and apart from the good will of God, progress is inevitable.

Again; the only reference I have found to personal immortality occurs on p. 119: "The probability is that planetary groups similar to this are distributed throughout space, so that intelligences analogous to the human may exist elsewhere; and if at the same time we regard these as immortal their further uninterrupted evolution may quite justifiably be accepted as at least a basis for discussion." Yes; but what an *If* is there! Really a philosopher must not—casually, and in half a sentence—take so immense a stride forward as the affirmation of victory over death. Here, and not here only, Dr. Turner seems to end in arguing that our high hopes are—merely—*scientifically not impossible*.

¹ In *Personality and Reality*, (see *Congregational Quarterly*, IV. 383).

There is also a difficulty about Free Will. Dr. Turner appears to be both a convinced Libertarian and a convinced Determinist. Nor does he allege "antinomy," as some have done; he explains his views, and thinks that difficulties are gone. A game of chess, he points out, must be played according to the rules." True; but if every move were what a move at an advanced stage in the game may sometimes be, a "forced move," there would be no game at all.

Finally, a Christian theologian cannot but deem it remarkable that Sin and Fatherhood and atonement are handled—strikingly and reverently handled, within the limits of the author's approach—without a single mention of Jesus Christ or of the N.T.

Nevertheless it is to be hoped that Christian students will not miss Dr. Turner's remarkable book, or fail to profit by its study.

ROBERT MACKINTOSH.

Hundred Eminent Congregationalists, 1530-1924. By ALBERT PEEL, M.A., Litt.D. Independent Press. 2s. 6d.

This is a delightful book for all Congregationalists. Those who have some knowledge of our history—they most of all—and those also, a growing number we believe, who want to know more of this great and varied story of nearly four centuries, will be fascinated by Dr. Peel's gallery of portraits—etches. Miniatures we cannot call them, for that would not indicate the special and peculiar art which has been employed in constructing these rapid, but individual portraits, ninety and nine men and one distinguished woman and the greatest English poetess at that. Where each biography occupies so small a space, and each, by the writer's cunning skill, is a recognizable individuality, every word, every fact, must be employed with fine judgment. And so we read on and on, each new name bringing a fresh interest, a fresh series of men and events, a new and engaging life, each all united by their common love of the Gospel in its freest interpretation, that our reading brings no weariness but rather an insatiable curiosity to try the quality of the next in the series, feeling sure it will be quite distinct from all its predecessors.

And what a series it is! What Church of English-speaking Christians could not be proud of such a calendar of saints, so varied in their gifts—scholars, theologians, reformers in Church and State, martyrs, statesmen, pioneer missionaries, administrators, orators, poets, and writers of all types. Not spiritual bond but the freedom and idealism of Congregationalism could have brought together into the one category a list so varied in their different gifts—so catholic, as Dr. Peel calls it?

The excellence and the defect of this little classic have a common source—the brevity of the biographies. The whole century is comprised in a hundred and thirty-four pages, which gives an average of less than a page and a half for each name. With the Introduction, which has its own special interest and value, it is a handy pocket volume of a hundred and fifty pages. That is the marvel of it. The great art of the work is the art of compression, the art of leaving out, yet always to achieve a piece of individual portraiture. As we should like to have just a few more details of these lives. As, for example, in the case of Dr. Raffles. We learn under another head of his friendship with that vigorous Congregationalist lawyer, Dr. James Baldwin, father of the Baldwin Brown of our own memories, but we might have been told that he was first cousin of the great proconsul, Sir Stamford Raffles, his very intimate and affectionate friend. And a word might have been said of his phenomenal services in London—at Claremont, where before evening service the place was over-full, with a great striving

crowd outside reaching into the street, and sometimes seriously interfering with the traffic. But for all this we may hope for a remedy. There are examples before us. Stopford Brooke's *Primer of English Literature* was small and yet so good that the demand for an enlarged edition was peremptory. When this edition is sold out, then let Dr. Peel give us an extended and fuller account of these eminent Congregationalists—say just twice as large as the present volume.

WILLIAM PIERCE

Man and the State. By WM. ERNEST HOCKING. Yale University Press and Milford. 18s. 6d.

The Present Status of the Philosophy of Law and of Rights. By WM. ERNEST HOCKING. Yale University Press and Milford. 9s.

The Public Mind. By NORMAN ANGELL. Noel Douglas. 7s. 6d.

The Howling Mob. An Indictment of Democracy. By "A Gentleman with a Duster." Mills & Boon. 5s.

Man and the State is the first of a series of three volumes in which a Harvard Professor of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy and Civil Politics is setting forth his political philosophy. *Liberty and Democracy* will be the title of the second volume, whilst the third will be on *The Rights of Men and of Nations*, elaborating the short book already published on *The Present Status of the Philosophy of Law and of Rights* (the second of Prof. Hocking's books now under review).

The book is pleasantly and clearly written and whilst every paragraph is packed with meaning very few sentences are heavy or involved. The main questions of political philosophy are raised, but they are reached by routes which render each one in its turn interesting and obviously fruitful with practical value.

In an opening chapter politics is defined as "the art of deliberate reflection and term-making which has hitherto chiefly preserved and advanced the level of associate life in human societies." The politician begins as a mere arbitrator between rival claims, but he gets nowhere unless he can associate rival parties in the community on terms which energize their associate life. The State is a contrivance for stabilizing the life of large groups of individuals by constraining them to live according to a series of agreements which represent in their totality the reason resident in the society which agrees to be bound by them. Such is the argument of the opening part, after which the author discusses "The State as Reason," and "The State as Force," turning then to answer the various schools of political philosophy which would belittle or annihilate the function of the State (the political pluralists and the political anarchists).

This preliminary survey leads up to the problem of the definition of the purpose of the State, which Prof. Hocking declines to attempt until he has surveyed the historical relation of the State to other social groups (Part II.) and explored its psychological foundations (Part III.). His definition finally reads: "The State exists for the sake of making it possible for individual men to realize their fully interpreted wills to power, and thereby to encourage these individuals to become as completely personal and rational as they have it in them to be."

Part IV. is given to some practical problems, including a very careful examination of the question of "the State, the Church and Conscience." The book is a fine introduction to one of the greatest religious questions of the hour—the place of political activity among the other activities of man.

In *The Philosophy of Law and of Rights*, the same author has compressed into less than 100 pages an astonishingly great vindication of Law as the

rvant of the higher interests of mankind. In less than two hours' railway riding I obtained from this book a reasoned philosophical statement of the position I had reached from independent reflection on the political philosophy of the Old and New Testaments, that Law is concerned not merely with the adjustment of the material interests of men but with the steering of fine human character and satisfying human relationships. It is a lot to pay for 100 pp., but some authors would have put the same matter into a great deal more space and charged no less. The book is extraordinarily lucid and alive.

Prof. Hocking reaches the conclusion that Law is the result of the human aspiration to express in definite and binding terms the kind of relationships which will tend to the realization of certain ideals of human life. What those ideals are man only finds out as he proceeds from stage to stage in legal definition. Certain necessities of human development, like security and peace, emerge very early, and gradually the right to liberty is realized. To-day we can rise to a more inclusive conception of the purpose of Law as the promotion of those conditions which will enable all members of society to realize their latent possibilities. Law is not so much based upon the fact that men are morally and politically equal as upon the purpose to make them so.

The book ends with a series of "Jural Postulates," compressing into a few propositions the immediate practical aims of legislation. Emphasis is here laid upon the necessity of making men to-day responsible for all those indirect injuries of their action which they might reasonably be expected to be able to anticipate. (The bearing of this upon the havoc caused to society by certain major transactions in industry and finance is pretty near the surface.) Yet another interesting emphasis is on the point that no individual has rights against society unless his goodwill to society may be presumed. Prof. Hocking notes, too, the increasing passion of mankind to protect whatever in the human environment makes for its secure growth. "Society has come to resent an injury to the soil even more than an injury to the crop."

The theme of *The Public Mind* is well represented by its first chapter, "The Barber as Manager of Civilization in his Spare Time." It is a study of the liability of the public mind to panic and baseness, consequent on its emotional moods. At one point the author contrasts the care with which we endeavour to guard against passion and prejudice in our institution of trial-by-jury with the casual way in which political judgments of far-reaching importance are arrived at.

The theme is illustrated, as might be expected, chiefly by instances drawn from the state of public feeling during the War and in the early years of Peace. Some of these illustrations are themselves a little overstrained with sentiment, but the case is made abundantly.

Mr. Angell finds the chief instrument of the debasement of the public mind in our present popular and highly-syndicated Press. He traces with fine detail the influence of the Press at the time of the Boer War and again at the time of the Khaki Election, when responsible statesmen were manifestly harried into wild utterances of Anti-Germanism against their judgment. He does not find the clergy or professors free from the same tendency to sentimental foolishness, but it is only in the case of the Press that he documents his charges and analyses them with any care. He has a very interesting study of Lord Northcliffe as a past master in Press enagogy.

The root of the trouble is that neither our schools nor our newspapers teach people to think. Elementary education has over-emphasized the

importance of memorizing facts, and the appeal of the popular newspaper is to the same unreflective interest in isolated incidents. It caters for the same mentality as the first page of *Answers*. It does nothing to create habit of temperate thought on public questions, and a public so trained is naturally at the mercy of its emotions in times of crisis.

Mr. Angell's remedy is not to dethrone democracy and secure benevolent dictators or wise bureaucrats, but to elicit from the mass of mankind its latent powers of thought. If we will recognize the disease from which we are suffering we can cope with it. So his final chapter deals with the "moral obligation to be intelligent." "The wicked man of the Prayer Book is never so much of a menace to human society as the good man animated by high motives of duty and social obligation, when he is aflame with moral indignation, vengeance and hate. . . . God tells us to do righteousness and truth but He does not tell us what they are. To find that out is the job to which He has condemned or dedicated us."

The author of *The Howling Mob* has somehow contrived to associate all the major social evils from which this country has suffered since the Middle Ages, with the unfortunate influence of Mr. A. J. Cook in the industrial history of 1926. In his mind it is all to be attributed broadly to "the democratic spirit." He sees the mark of the same spirit in the too-socialist Government of Mr. Baldwin, in the increase in the staff of civil servants and in the scandal of the Douglas Pennant case. He is too much a victim of the fever of confused emotional mass thinking he is describing to have any serious analysis of it to offer or any sufficient remedy to suggest. The book is indeed an appeal from one "Howling Mob" to another. The author's taste in quotation is, however, surprisingly good.

MALCOLM SPENCER.

SHORTER NOTICES AND DESCRIPTIVE LIST

(Books marked * are recommended for ministerial reading.)

Most preachers are aware what a grip O.T. subjects have on modern congregations. Jacob and David are recognized as men of like passions with ourselves, and often they seem more human than the idealized figures of the N.T. And the Ten Commandments are not yet out-of-date, for there is no country in the world where obedience to them would not mean an immediate improvement in moral standards. The Rev. H. J. Flowers's **The Permanent Value of the Ten Commandments* (Allen & Unwin, 7s. 6d.) treats the Decalogue in fresh and arresting chapters, five of which had appeared in the *Expositor* when that journal came to an untimely end. This book is one which the preacher delivering a course of sermons on the Commandments must not fail to see: he need not fear he will be led to follow the author too closely—Mr. Flowers is too much of a free lance for that—but that he will find the book suggestive, especially in the application of the ancient words to modern conditions, is undoubted.

Dr. J. E. McFadyen's *Guide to the Understanding of the O.T.* (Clarke, 5s.) is written for those who, having no technical equipment for Bible study, desire to know something of the nature of the O.T. Many of the chapters have already appeared in periodicals: together they serve their purpose well and cover the ground, though, of course, only in summary fashion.

We wonder if the impression received from Dr. W. M. Grant's *The Bible of Jesus* (Hodder, 7s. 6d.) was correct—that it had been written, in the main,

about twenty years ago and recently worked over for publication. G. A. Smith, Robertson Smith, Harnack, Wernle, Wendt are the authorities commonly quoted: only occasionally do we get later writers like E. F. Scott. Especially is it surprising that a book with the sub-title "An Enquiry into the Use of the O.T." should have no reference to Dr. T. Walker's *The Teaching of Jesus and the Jewish Teaching of His Age*, and especially to the same writer's smaller book, *What Jesus Read*. Dr. Grant does not lead readers astray, but e-war maps are not altogether satisfactory.

The Rev. J. M. C. Crum's *The Original Jerusalem Gospel* (Constable, 9s.) contains the author's reconstruction of "Q" from the *Hibbert*, and eight essays on the document which vary a good deal in standard, much that is elementary being combined with examinations of *Mark's* relation to "Q," "Q's" relation to Jerusalem, and so forth. There is no index, and little to indicate Crum's debt to other scholars: indeed he seems to work very much on his own lines, though there are no signs that he has expert technical knowledge. The book will help those who are making a first approach to the Synoptic problem rather than those who hoped to see another step taken towards its solution.

The Rev. N. Levison tells us that he was brought up in sight of Nazareth and until he went to school in Jerusalem "had never seen a vehicle of any description": he lived in a pious Jewish home and was taught to despise Nazareth as "the source of all the ills which have overtaken our people for the last 2,000 years." He became a Christian minister, and has now written *Parables: Their Background and Local Setting* (Clark, 7s.) a book which will prevent expositors from ludicrous mistakes in exposition. It is specially valuable to have a work of this kind from one whose early environment was like to that of Jesus Himself. It will go next to the same publisher's *Real Colour of the Bible* on our shelves, and will, we expect, prove equally useful.

At a time when there has been an outbreak of a crude form of Second Adventism we welcome two Indep. Press booklets (1s. each)—Dr. C. J. Cadoux's *The Resurrection and the Second Advent of Jesus* and the Rev. D. W. Langridge's **The Second Coming of Christ*. Mr. Langridge's treatment is more general than Dr. Cadoux's: in a vigorous and cogent way he shows the folly of the literalist view of the Second Advent: preachers who have difficulties on the subject will find his book helpful.

There are indications in *Paul the Jew* (Hodder, 6s.) that the charm of the story of *By an Unknown Disciple* will be fully manifest in *Paul the Christian*, of which the present work is obviously a prologue. In the present volume the writer does not get full scope for the exercise of his [?] gifts, which need a field of narrative for their full expression; here in the story of Paul until the death of Stephen he [?] has to rely almost entirely upon his [?] imagination. Paul's constant mental struggle against the light is vividly described, and there are many suggestive passages; "the thorn in the flesh" is deformity and crooked legs—about which Paul is very sensitive.

Canon A. W. Robinson's *The Christianity of the Epistles* (S.C.M., 3s. 6d. and 2s. 6d.) was prepared for the guidance of study circles, and for such may be useful. It seems a pity, however, that books should be unnecessarily multiplied: Canon Bate's *Guide to the Epistles of St. Paul* is an admirable work which makes this slighter work almost superfluous.

Every Christian does well to sit down now and then to write out his creed: there is no finer spiritual exercise. The Rev. J. D. M. Rorke in **In Search of a Personal Creed* (S.C.M., 4s. and 2s. 6d.) endeavours to lead people on this path. If ministers would place this book in the hands of serious young folk,

or work through it with them in study circles, none who participated could fail to benefit.

Mr. Lewis Browne's *This Believing World* (Benn, 7s. 6d.) is "a simple account of the great religions of mankind." While it is not the great book the wrapper announces, it is a fresh and attractive—if American—presentation of the history of religion and of the great religions of the world. We agree that popularization of this kind is necessary, but we do not think the "copious illustrations" Mr. Browne gives us serve any useful purpose.

Mrs. Besant introduces her new prophet, the "World Teacher," Krishnamurti, and tells us that we are "otherwise" if we do not "recognize the depth of wisdom, the striking originality, the exquisite diction of this really wonderful book"—*The Kingdom of Happiness* (Allen & Unwin, 3s. 6d.). Among the "otherwise" we certainly find ourselves. Put a youth's first Christian Endeavour address into a Buddhist setting, add a dash of stunt psychology—"How to conquer the world"—and you get something like *The Kingdom of Happiness*. Proof? Did any address ever begin more ordinarily than this: "I would like to impress upon you the importance of taking an interest in life, because without interest you cannot do anything." For the stunt-psychology take this: "You should go towards the source of things: and when once you reach that source you become the god, the super-man, the master." There is an astonishing lack of clarity about the book. When the writer speaks of "He," unconsciously we slip into thinking he means Jesus, but on one page it is "the Lord Buddha," on another "the Voice, the Tyrant," on another Shri Krishna. There may come a time when Mrs. Besant's attractive-looking young prophet has a message for the world, but it certainly is not in this book.

Dr. J. G. Gilkey, an American Congregational minister and professor, gives us in *A Faith for the New Generation* (Macmillan, 7s. 6d.) six chapters aimed at College and other students. They are frank and open-minded, shirking no difficulties, and accepting the modern view of life and religion. They can be cordially recommended.

The Doctrine of Christian Evangelical Perfection (Sharp, 8s. 6d.) secured for the Rev. H. W. Perkins the London D.D., and rightly so, for it is a sound contribution to theology along a line that has not been over-worked. It treats with care, thoroughness and learning the idea and doctrine of perfection in the Bible and the Church, and students of mysticism especially will appreciate its worth.

Mr. Edward Grubb, the prolific Quaker writer, sets out in *Christianity as Life* (Allen & Unwin, 7s. 6d.) to expound Christianity as "a new experience of God as revealed in Jesus and a way of life based on that experience." Christianity is neither a system of belief nor an organization set up by Jesus; it is a life that re-vitalizes man and the whole sphere of human activity. Half the book deals with Jesus and the N.T., half with the Christian Church and Christ in human life.

Dr. J. W. Graham's *The Divinity in Man* (Allen & Unwin, 10s. 6d.) is a study of human personality, with the emphasis on mystical experience. It leads the writer into a discussion of the Mystery Religions, spiritualism, and modern mystical writings, as well as into expositions of Plotinus, George Fox, and Isaac Penington. The scope of the book is too wide for it to have any permanent value, interesting though it is.

Mrs. Holdsworth's (L. V. Hodgkin) *A Quaker Saint of Cornwall* (Longmans, 10s. 6d.) is a beautiful book about a Quaker lady with a beautiful name—Loveday Hambly. This volume owes less to the imagination than *A Book of Quaker Saints*: indeed it may be taken as the best history of the Quakers.

vement in Cornwall during its period. It describes how Mrs. Hambly's home became the centre of the life of Friends in Cornwall, the place where travelling Friends, including Fox, visited, and where the larger meetings were held. Most of the well-known Quaker names appear in these pages, and the sufferings of the Friends are vividly described, largely from contemporary sources. Quaint incidents are not lacking. Fox, *e.g.*, describes how when "Eliz. Trelauny a baronett's daughter . . . came Into the meeting close up to me : and clapt her ear very nigh me : which after I perceived she was somewhat thick of hearing : and she was convinced." Those who have it as a perpetual grievance that Friends are often well-to-do will be pleased to note that two of them reply to a charge of vagrancy by saying that they always "lay at the best inns."

Another well-written Quaker book is Miss Grubb's *Quakers in Ireland 1794-1900* (Swarthmore Press, 3s. 6d.). In reading both these books we have been impressed by : (1) The way in which the sufferings and imprisonment of Friends enabled them to make their witness, so that their bonds fell out for the progress of the Gospel ; (2) The size of families and the appalling infant mortality. Families approaching twenty in number, with an infant mortality of more than half, seem to have been common.

We should expect a book by Dr. A. Herbert Gray with the title *With Christ as Guide* (Williams & Norgate, 2s. 6d.) to be fresh, frank, and virile, and so it is. The sub-title is "An Apprehension of Christianity," and the chapters lead through an examination of the personality of Jesus to a consideration of the central problems of Christian life and theology. It is the kind of book to give to that much discussed "young person of today."

The Essays, The Notes, and the Poems in Mrs. A. D. Lindsay's *The Spirit I Think* (S.C.M., 3s. 6d.) all make you conscious of a fine mind with the power to express its thoughts in appropriate language. Mrs. Lindsay's ideas cluster in the main round Jesus, Socrates, and Wordsworth, and they provide the fresh and stimulating pages.

Dr. Maldwyn Hughes's *Christian Foundations* (Sharp, 4s.) is an excellent introduction to Christian doctrine which will be found serviceable by far more than the local preachers for whom it has been written. Some of the summaries of differing views on vexed questions—*e.g.*, man's destiny—are models of both compression and fairness.

Those who know Dr. W. E. Barton's previous writings, whether under his own name or that of Safed the Sage, will expect *My Faith In Immortality* (W., 3s. 6d.) to be clear, suggestive, and sparkling. So it is, and at times original, though the chapters vary in merit. It is worth what it costs, which is more than can be said of many modern books.

Perhaps the best part of Dr. Hugh Watt's **Representative Churchmen of Twenty Centuries* (Clarke, 6s.) consists of pages in which he summarizes each century and justifies his selected man. We have sketches of Paul, Justin, Irenaeus, Constantine, Augustine, Columbanus, Gregory, Boniface, Charlemagne, Odo, Hildebrand, Bernard, Francis, Wyclif, Gerson, Luther, John Calvin, James Henderson, Wesley, and Livingstone, and Dr. Watt says he had doubts about the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. The page epitomizing the nineteenth century and justifying the selection of Livingstone is a masterly and convincing summary, but we can assure Dr. Watt that he was right to have qualms about Henderson : nobody but a Scot would have dreamed of absolving him !

In *The Master and His Men* Dr. Townley Lord also surveys the centuries, but takes groups rather than individuals for his representatives, his sub-title

being "Studies in Christian Enterprise." The chapters deal with men "knew the Master," "would not bow to Cæsar," "forsook the world," "took to the open road," "sailed to heathen lands," and "carried the Gospel to the slums." The last chapter deals with the twentieth century disciple.

Dr. Samuel McComb's *Book of Modern Prayers* (Longmans, 6s.) is a typically American book. It consists of an introductory essay on Prayer and sixty selected prayers, with a reading attached to each, the prayers being selected from many sources, "Cardinal Newman to William James, Gladstone to Dean Inge."

Those who were fortunate enough to hear Sir Oliver Lodge's "Halley Stewart Lectures," *Science and Human Progress* (Allen & Unwin, 4s. 6d.) will know that Sir Oliver revealed himself as a true preacher as well as a scientist. As one reads the lectures one is conscious that here is a man with a message for our time. With a wide knowledge of physical science as a basis, with the spirit of the explorer who believes that the universe has great secrets to reveal, Sir Oliver is able to clothe his thoughts with language appropriately clear and beautiful. Classical and English literature come alike to him for illustration, and he is never remote from the practical problems of life but anxious at all times to apply knowledge to the alleviation of human ills. Mr. Halley Stewart is to be congratulated on this inaugural series of lectures of a Trust which, rightly administered, should have far-reaching results.

Mr. F. A. Atkins's papers in *Who Laughs Last?* (Nisbet, 3s. 6d.) are clever, cynical and caustic. His criticism of churches, preachers, and society is smart and often unfair, but there is an element of truth in this candid friend's strictures which must be faced. Mr. Atkins does not spare the rod—and he evidently enjoys using it—and we can imagine that many will feel chastisement not joyous but grievous. Nevertheless it may be salutary and may produce some amendment.

A bracing northerly breeze blows through Dr. Nansen's *Adventures* (Hogarth Press, 4s. 6d.) which contains two Nobel Prize Addresses (1922 and 1926) and the Rectorial Address at Glasgow last year. Safe and superior people will find Dr. Nansen much too boisterous and risky—he believes that "in the big things of life it is vitally important to leave no line of retreat." That's the stuff!

If you want to see an author lay about him with vigour Dr. B. C. Windle's *The Catholic Church and Its Reactions with Science* (Burns, Oates, 4s.) will not disappoint you. It is one of the best Roman Catholic books I have read lately. It is biased and unfair—*cela va sans dire*; to say, for example, that the Cecil family ruled this country for sixty years "with a single eye to holding what they had, and in that case, preventing the Catholic Church ever coming again into any of her own possessions, of which they had robbed it," is a travesty of history. But on scientific questions Dr. Windle knows what he is talking about and is worth reading.

We wish all Christians, and not only the Anglican laymen for whom it is specially written, would read and act on the Rev. J. Wareham's *An Ordered Life* (Mowbray, 3s. 6d.), a plea that Christians should plan their lives, making room for prayer and meditation. Not the least valuable part of the book is its quotations, but the whole deserves the consideration of ministers, for if they could get their people to order their lives, with times for spiritual sustenance, a great impetus would be given to the work of the Church.

Miss Hamilton Moore's *The House of Refuge* (Williams & Norgate, 3s. 6d.) consists of musings in and near a French Convent. They succeed in

transmitting the soothing power and sense of peace that the writer found in the "House of Refuge."

The Great Physician (S.P.C.K., 5s.) is a manual of devotion for those who minister to the sick. It has been prepared by a clergyman, the Rev. A. J. G. Banks, and a doctor, Dr. W. S. Bowen, both of whom were members of the American Episcopal Church's Commission on Christian Healing. It contains prayers, hymns, Bible passages, and all manner of quotations and suggestions for those who have to minister to the sick.

We are glad that Dr. T. R. Glover has reprinted some of his *Saturday Papers* (S.C.M., 5s.) from the *Daily News*. Dr. Glover's classical knowledge, wide human sympathies, and evangelical zeal are all illustrated in this collection, which covers a great variety of subjects.

The Drews—W. B. Smith—Robertson School, which does not believe in the Jesus of history, has gained a recruit in the person of Mr. L. G. Rylands, who sets forth his views in *The Evolution of Christianity* (Watts, 7s. 6d.). Mr. Rylands believes that in time all theologians will accept his conclusion, that they have accepted others long resisted, and that they will find that belief in the existence of Jesus is not necessary to the existence of Christianity. Mr. Rylands seems quite as credulous in accepting his authorities as some of the simple Christians he criticizes are in accepting the Gospels.

One of the by-products of Prayer Book revision is Dr. C. S. Carter's scholarly book, *The Anglican Via Media* (Thynne, 3s. 6d.) which aims at showing that in the view of the Elizabethan and the Caroline divines the Anglican Church was no *via media* between Geneva and Rome, but "stood definitely on the side of the Reformed Churches of Christendom." Dr. Carter's contentions are in the main sound, though he is not always convincing: he ignores altogether the writings of the Elizabethan Puritans, possibly because their insistence on Popish remnants in the Elizabethan Church would weaken his argument.

Father Ronald Knox's flippant Introduction to Mr. A. L. Maycock's *The Inquisition* (Constable, 12s. 6d.) will perhaps turn Protestants away from a book that has cost much labour and thought. Mr. Maycock, of course, is a Roman Catholic: his book is valuable not so much for the narrative as for its account of Inquisition procedure and its stress on the fact that sixteenth century heresy was not intellectual, but it was a danger to the social fabric. This volume should stand next to Lea's monumental work on reference shelves. It will not supersede that authoritative work: even Mr. Maycock, of the ranks of Tuscany, is constrained to say that while Lea is "exasperating in his utter lack of realizing imagination" he is "almost always accurate on points of fact."

Vol. V. of the *Cambridge Ancient History* (21s.) is concerned with Greece and entitled "Athens, 478-401." Its fifteen chapters, supplemented by valuable bibliographies and chronological notes, survey the whole of Athenian life, from the first chapter on the economic background, which sets the narrative in perspective, through the accounts of the drama, the art and architecture, the philosophers and the historians, of this most glorious age of the ancient world. We imagine that many will turn first to Mr. Sheppard's account of the drama, even though sorely tempted by Dr. Macan on Herodotus and Thucydides. The death of Prof. Bury lends a pathetic interest to his chapter, "The Age of Illumination." It is to be hoped that the work has proceeded so far that he has already made contributions to the succeeding volume: we should naturally expect his name to be attached to the chapter on Plato and Aristotle. The volumes on Assyria and Persia have received warm praise in our pages: this volume is a worthy successor.

M. Zielinski's *The Religion of Ancient Greece* (Milford, 7s. 6d.) may be counted a valuable footnote to the last work. From its outline as an anthropologist, the historian, the philosopher, and the historian can learn. The translation (from the Polish) reads very well.

Mr. G. H. Cowling, who has already given us a serviceable *Preface to Shakespeare*, now provides an excellent Introduction to Chaucer. *Chaucer* (Methuen, 6s.) is good value: scholars will not fail to learn something from it, while the general reader will be surprised how much information Mr. Cowling has managed to gather. Altogether a very useful book.

For once we are inclined to think that a wrapper's blurb is justified, and that Prof. W. F. Giese's *Victor Hugo* (Melrose, 18s.) will become the standard critical work on Hugo, the poet (the book deals with the man and the poet, touching the novels only incidentally). Prof. Giese gives us a very thorough analysis of Hugo's character, thought, and style, and his criticism is as detailed as it is severe, revealing the real Hugo in a dissection that occupies chapter after chapter. Hugo's work is "only a prodigiously brilliant manifestation of art for art's sake"; he is "a marvellous master of expression" and "as an orator in verses perhaps without a peer," but he is "empty": he "abounds in barbaric splendour; in refining discipline he is utterly lacking." "No one has said things more original in form or less original in substance," while his *Shakespeare* is "the worst volume of criticism extant in any tongue" (Swinburne's *Hugo*, we are told, comes next). The chapter of the man gives us a picture of Hugo as an egotist, hypocrite, and altogether objectionable person.

A companion volume, alike in form and in tone and competence, is Prof. Barry Cerf's *Anatole France*, the sub-title of which—"The Degeneration of a Great Artist"—shews the point of view. After a biographical sketch the book is in two sections: (1) "The Thinker" ("The Sensualist"; "The Humanist"; "The Socialist"); (2) "The Artist" ("The Stylist"; "The Ironist"; "The Alexandrian"). Anatole France, as Prof. Cerf sees him, had little that was fine or lovable in his character; he was not kind, generous, or tolerant, but an extreme egoist. If love is more than lust he seemed to be unaware of the fact, being exclusively devoted to two mistress— "sensuality" and "aimless curiosity." His 48 vols. produce "an effect of exquisite futility." He never learnt the Greek lesson of moderation, but was "always extravagant; extravagantly cynical." In France a sceptical head was always fighting a sentimental heart. A master of irony, his irony becomes fatiguing: he will not live because of his lack of seriousness and his tendency to destroy man's belief in himself. "Where there is no conviction, seriousness, or purpose, fire and virile strength are lacking," and in France there was "effeminate indolence, lack of drive and intensity, nonchalance and indifference," and therefore his work is not living but "collections of ingeniously-wrought gems."

Mrs. Masfield calls her *Story of Fanny Burney* (Cambridge Press, 5s.) "an Introduction to the Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay." It is a delightful account of Fanny and the well-known people whom she got to know after *Evelina* had brought her fame—Johnson, Burke, Sheridan, Hastings, Sir Joshua, and the Royal Household.

Although it is scarcely possible to accept Max Müller's verdict on William Canton's poetry—that he was equal to Matthew Arnold—yet we are glad to welcome this volume of *Poems* (Harrap, 5s. and 8s. 6d.). Chaste in language, inspired by religious faith, and rising to their highest when dealing with childhood, the poems will be read with avidity by all lovers of "W.V." and his father.

In this *blasé* age it is pleasing to find anybody so enthusiastic as Prof. Parker Fairley in his well written *C. M. Doughty* (Cape, 9s.). Nevertheless so much enthusiasm palls, and in the middle of the book we were settling down to 100 pp. of boredom when, on leaving *Adam Cast Forth*, Prof. Fairley turned his attention to *The Cliffs*, *The Clouds*, *The Titans*, and *Mansoul*, and became really critical. Previously, in discussing *Arabia Deserta* and *The Dawn in Britain* he had been uniformly extravagant, the first being described as "the latest great monument of our prose," the second as one of the few poems that "give deep and durable satisfaction in an ever increasing measure." Alike in prose and verse Doughty had shewn that "his attitude to the problem of style was profounder than that of any of his contemporaries." The test of a book like this is whether it conveys the writer's enthusiasm to the reader and sends him post-haste to the Library for the works of the author. We doubt if Prof. Fairley succeeds, primarily because it is a moot point whether Doughty is a subject for literary criticism at all. We doubt if any of his writings has a future, with the exception of *Arabia Deserta*, which will live, not because of its style, but because its writer was a man who did things. Of Doughty the man and the explorer men will always want to hear: Doughty the poet will, we imagine, be for University dissertations only!

The reviewer generally looks with dismay on a volume to which many writers have contributed, but the literary and theatrical reminiscences which Mr. S. S. Koteliansky has translated and edited in *Anton Tchekhov* (Routledge, 6s. 6d.) proved to be extremely interesting, and gave a clear picture of their subject. Extracts from Tchekhov's diary open the volume, and they are followed by articles from his family, from Russian writers, famous and otherwise, and from actors and actresses. Unpublished works of Tchekhov follow and a full and useful chronological table.

Dr. Agnes Mure Mackenzie is interested equally in the modern stage and the Elizabethan drama: her very live *Playgoer's Handbook to the English Renaissance Drama* (Cape, 5s.) shows that she is competent to deal with both. Excellent summaries and criticisms of the plays of Shakespeare's predecessors, contemporaries, and juniors are followed by some sound advice to those who produce Elizabethan plays to-day.

Whatever we may think of Horace Walpole as a dilettante who played with life and wasted unrivalled opportunities we must admit that he has had no peers as a letter-writer. It is given to few to possess Mrs. Paget Toynbee's new vol. edition of the Letters, but many will welcome Mr. W. S. Lewis's *Selection* (Harper, 7s. 6d.). The selection is well-made, but some of the additional notes are rather off the target: on p. 56, *e.g.*, the note to *Whitfield and Whiston* reads, "The celebrated evangelists"!

We give a warm welcome to the "Great English Churchmen" series, edited by Mr. Sidney Dark (Macmillan, 6s.). The five volumes before us differ considerably in merit. Mr. Dark himself writes on *St. Thomas of Canterbury*, and his study is as readable as many a novel: indeed, the tale is so entrancingly told that we feel we must look up the chronicles and see how true it keeps to the records. Mr. Dark believes that Becket was a heroic figure whose life and death were of inestimable service to the Church, and that primarily he "died for the poor." These contentions the narrative sustains, only failing to carry the reader with it when Mr. Dark turns aside to belabour previous biographers or to obtrude *obiter dicta* like "It was not until after the Reformation that the Church of England thought part of its mission to provide careers for the well-born incompetent." Indeed, Mr. Dark's enthusiasm is such that at times he praises Thomas even though it be at the expense of Rome, and at one point goes so far as to

quote the Archbishop's words: "I know now how it is that in the court of Rome the Lord's side is always sacrificed, that Barabbas escapes and Christ is slain." Well, well! *Et tu, Brute!*

There is no doubt at all that Canon A. C. Deane's *Thomas Cranmer* is written in an interesting, racy style. Likewise there is no doubt that there is any amount of confidence and dogmatism in its pages. Canon Deane made up his mind what manner of men Henry, Cranmer and Cromwell were and he leaves little room for light and shade. Cranmer has rarely come off worse at the hands of a biographer. "He permitted external forces to direct his actions and even to shape his creed. Weakness made him the tool of unworthy masters, and a perverted loyalty kept him their willing tool." The book is weakest in its failure to understand Continental Protestantism and Cranmer's relation thereto: does Canon Deane really think that "dogmatic" and "pompous" are the epithets that apply to Bucer, Peckham, Martyr, and A'Lasco? And it is really time that we stopped talking about an "ancient Church" being turned into a "novel sect," as we are told might have happened had Hooper or Knox become Archbishop instead of Cranmer.

Those who desire to get an accurate account of the struggle between King and Parliament will be wise not to forsake Gardiner for the Rev. A. J. Duncan-Jones's *Archbishop Laud*, even though Mr. Duncan-Jones thinks that Gardiner regarded the House of Commons as "almost Divinely guided." In this study Laud is the champion "of the poor against their oppressors" and the Star Chamber "the last bulwark of the peasant against oppression." It starts out with a description of the time when "the Papists still plotted, the Puritan still schemed" and "Puritan and Papist combined to mislead the mind of England and to strangle its soul." Between the two stood the Episcopal Church, ancient, dignified, pure, with Laud defending it against attacks from without and dissensions within. In order to exalt Laud, a manner of charges and insinuations—ignorance, prejudice, dishonesty, malice—are brought against the Puritans. The Puritans had their faults, but it is unnecessary to magnify them in order to see Laud as a sincere and conscientious man who was willing to make the greatest of sacrifices for the Church he loved. Mr. Duncan-Jones has not yet learnt the first lesson in the art of writing history: he shuts his eyes to all he does not want to see.

The Dean of Winchester's *John Wesley* is by no means an easy book to appraise. It is an essay, parts of which, apparently, have appeared in periodicals, and there is a good deal of journalistic smartness about it, some of which does not seem quite fair. It is very readable and in many places provocative, for Dr. Hutton seems almost as sure of himself as was Wesley, who scarcely appears in this biography as the great man he was. Nevertheless, any book which drives readers back to the *Journal* is of value.

Dr. R. J. Campbell's *Thomas Arnold* must be pronounced disappointing. Perhaps any biography would be disappointing after Stanley's, but Dr. Campbell has given us so much about the controversies of the time that Arnold scarcely gets a chance. We looked for something of the charm and winsomeness that used to mark the City Temple sermons, but the prose is undistinguished and there is rarely any grip, and we are forced to the conclusion that biography is not the *forte* of the celebrated preacher.

The Autobiography of Kingsley Fairbridge (Milford, 6s.) is a thrilling narrative that cannot be laid down until the last page of Sir Arthur Lawley's Epilogue is reached. The story of boyhood pioneering in Mashonaland, of adventures with natives and big game, of fights with malaria, and of vision of an Africa that might be, grip the reader. Fairbridge became a Rhodes scholar and fired many in this country with his own zeal for "Chile

igration"—a plan for taking English children (all the 60,000 dependent children in institutions, if possible) to the Colonies to be trained for farming and the development of the land. He made a start with the Fairbridge School in West Australia, but died at an early age: progress on the results of his schemes is, however, almost a certainty in the future.

Despite a rather stilted style Mr. H. L. Hemmen's *George Grenfell* (S.C.M., "Modern Series of Missionary Biographies") is a glowing account of the life and work of one of the most heroic figures in African missionary enterprise. Grenfell's services to geography and exploration were considerable, but these were always subordinated to spiritual pioneering work, the preaching of the Gospel to those who had not heard it. It is impossible to read unmoved the story of the Baptist Mission on the Congo, with its numerous casualties: of that Mission Grenfell was heart and soul, as well as leader.

Africa has been the subject of many recent works. South African translation, in which the principle of the colour bar was introduced, has compelled Lord Olivier to write *The Anatomy of African Misery* (Hogarth Press, 6s.) in which he surveys the various aspects of the racial problem—labour, segregation, etc. On the whole he carries the reader with him. But there is need for Christian advocacy is obvious, though not always is the opposite point of view put with the bluntness of Sir Thomas Watts's letter to *The Times*: "This . . . is such a vital and important matter that no ethical considerations such as the rights of man and equal opportunities for all non-Europeans, will be allowed to stand in the way."

The sense of depression, and almost despair, which Lord Olivier's book arouses is lifted by Dr. Donald Frazer's *The New Africa* (Livingstone Press, 2s.), a masterpiece of compression. Dr. Frazer knows Africa as few Europeans do, but he sees the signs of encouragement as well as the immensity of the problem: he believes that "with Christ the Key" even Africa's problems can be solved. This is a book to be read, as is also the Rev. J. Lowry Russell's *Nigeria* (World Dominion Press, 3s. 6d.) a survey of the land, its people and Christian progress.

The L.M.S. has issued a group of timely books. *Talks on Friends in Africa* (1s.) and *If I lived in Africa* (1s.) will be useful to teachers, and *Islands and Peoples* (6d.) to Primary workers. In plays we have *William Carey* (1s.) by Rev. L. Artingstall, *The Snake Bite* (3d.) and *Bao San Finds Out* (3d.), and a Livingstone Celebration (3d.).

People anxious to understand the Chinese problem could not do better than read the Rev. R. O. Hall's *China and Britain* (Livingstone Press, 2s.), a clear and statesmanlike summary. Mr. Hall shows how the situation has sprung out of past history, discusses the relation of the missionary, and the Christian to the Chinese to-day, and shows how various movements might be used to the advantage of China, Britain, and the Kingdom of God. Mr. Hall's book should both spread knowledge and create the atmosphere in which peace and progress might be possible.

In *Palestine Awake* (Low, 7s. 6d.) Miss Loeb describes "the re-birth of a nation," showing, with many illustrations, the changes that have come over Palestine since the War.

Book III. of Marten & Carter's *Histories* (Blackwell, 2s. 9d.) is entitled "New Worlds," and deals with 1485-1688. The writers aim at setting the British story in the general story of mankind, and they illustrate judiciously from contemporary sources.

The Rev. W. J. Farrow's thesis *The Great Civil War in Shropshire* (Newbury: Wilding, 6s.) is an able piece of research, giving an excellent idea of a typical county in the Civil War.

The most controversial and most pertinent of the eleven papers in Holland Rose's *The Indecisiveness of Modern War* (Bell, 10s. 6d.) are first two, which discuss the title from the points of naval and land war respectively. There will be different opinions whether Dr. Rose draws right inferences from the long stalemate on the Western Front and from battle of Jutland, but there can be only one about his conclusion that it be very difficult in the future to bring war on sea or land to a speedy issue. Another striking essay is that on Admiral Duckworth's failure at Constantinople in 1807: the Admiral's view that it was folly to attempt to force the Straits and take Constantinople without the aid of an adequate land force was borne out by his experience: it is strange that a century later both his experience and his opinion seem to have been forgotten.

The Rev. Paul Bull, of the Community of Resurrection, has gathered together some telling facts and quotations in *The Economics of the Kingdom of God* (Allen & Unwin, 6s.). He is concerned with the application of Christian principles to the industrial problem, and all who are seeking for weapons with which to assail selfishness and competition will find his book an armoury.

In *Modern Industry* (S.C.M., 1s. 3d.) Mr. Malcolm Sparkes suggests "a Christian line of development." Its essence is the raising of wages, which will so increase the demand for goods that prices may be lowered. Mr. Sparkes appeals to Christian employers to apply this principle *à la Henry Ford*. We wonder whether an Anglican employer like Sir Charles Marsden would be willing to do so. We confess we found his *Christian Faith and Industry* (S.P.C.K., 2s. 6d.) trite, jejune and scrappy. He certainly believes that "the enterprising and efficient employer is the essential feature of modern industry," but denies that "the N.T. countenances changes in the industrial system," and holds that Jesus commended "the honest acquisition of wealth by laymen." All of which may be very comforting to a wealthy employer, but it would be interesting to see Sir Charles after a month on 50s. a week, or after six months trying to get employment.

Miss Evelyn Sharp's *The London Child* (Bodley Head, 7s. 6d.) contains some admirable pictures, both in the character sketches of individuals and in the description of nursery schools, children's libraries, Courts, clinics, and manifold other activities whereby the twentieth century cares for its children. The book should be widely read, for it will reveal to many in the London child lives. The many drawings are excellently done, particularly those of young children, but the coloured illustrations are misleading.

Mr. Harold Begbie's *Punishment and Personality* (Mills & Boon, 5s.) will be read with eagerness by those who read our recent articles on prison life. Mr. Begbie describes the great prisons of England as he saw them when touring for the *Daily Mail*. The "Wakefield Experiment," an account of which Mr. H. Moore gave in our pages, is described by Mr. Begbie, whose vivid sketches should make us resolve to try to alter the things that make the criminal.

Medical Views on Birth Control (Hopkinson, 6s.) introduced by Dr. Thomas Horder, has some valuable contributions, though it adds nothing in the way of information or clear advice on a subject about which a great deal has been written since the War. Again there is much variety of opinion, for doctors disagree altogether on this vital question. Some of the chapters speak very strongly of the way in which publicity in regard to the use of contraceptives is increasing sexual immorality among young people. Dr. F. J. McCann is President of the "League of National Life" formed to oppose the practice of contraception, but it cannot be said that his address in *The Dangers of Contraception* (Simpkin, 6d.) is a convincing or authoritative utterance. The diversity of medical opinion is also shown in Mrs. Powell's

How to Cure Women's Ailments (Lutterworth, 2s. 6d.). She herself believes "Nature's Cure," fasting being one of her remedies.

Prof. E. R. Groves's *Social Problems of the Family* (Lippincott, 10s. 6d.) is an excellent addition to that publisher's "Family Life" series. Written with the American family in view, it has much information and counsel that are generally applicable. Not since Prof. Lofthouse's *Ethics and the Family* have we seen a book that surveys so wisely, widely, and well the problem of the family.

Mr. W. F. Carlill, the writer of *Socrates or The Emancipation of Mankind* in the "To-day and To-morrow" series (Kegan Paul, 2s. 6d.) says the object of the series is "guessing." Certainly his title had us guessing. It is about the mind of man, and, like some other volumes in the series, is clear and never, if sometimes cheap. For those who want a brief and brilliant summary of recent psychology the essay may be recommended: it is a pity it is misfigured so often by schoolboy smartness. In the same series we have Mr. Ockham's *Stentor*, which deals with the Press and talks interestingly about the passing of the independent Press, the growth of trustification, and the possible effect of wireless; Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's *Delphos*, a lucid exposition of the movement for an international language; and Mr. Sullivan's *Ullio*, where the attempt to find an alternative title breaks down, because "The Future of Science" has been already used; Mr. Sullivan is obliged to employ "The Tyranny of Science," though he denies that science is a tyrant any longer: he also talks glibly about relativity and the quantum theory without explaining what they are.

All who are engaged as teachers or administrators in the work of education should read Prof. Bompas Smith's well-informed and practical book, *The Nation's Schools* (Longmans, 6s.). Prof. Bompas Smith has vision as well as knowledge: he looks at the end of our educational system as well as the means, and it is on progressive thinkers that he continually draws—Whitehead, Thomson, Wallas, Tawney, Jacks, and the like. The book is a valuable contribution to a subject the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. Now America is facing the same problem may be seen in the three lectures of Prof. Kilpatrick's *Education for a Changing Civilisation* (Macmillan, 4s. 6d.).

With *Decadence* (Cassell, 7s. 6d.) Maxim Gorki resumes his place among the novelists. This powerful story is the account of the rise of a peasant family to wealth by means of the establishment of factories. It is a Russian version of Lancashire's "Clogs to clogs in three generations," plus the coming of the Revolution. *Decadence* revives the impression that it is almost impossible for the Englishman to understand the Russian temperament. Gorki's characters rarely speak; they are either shouting or pulling their ears and thinking: and there is an incredible amount of emotionalism, with drunkenness, murder and sexual indulgence. Nevertheless the book describes in vivid manner the development of a people on the way to revolution.

We are inclined to suspect that the sale of Mr. Sinclair Lewis's books has been diminishing, and that he felt he must, at all costs, get back to the "best seller" class. What better way of doing it than to caricature religion and the Church, steeping the whole in sex. Of course there are black sheep in the Church and in the ministry; of course religious emotion, uncontrolled, leads often to sexual licence; of course there is much that is unpleasant about the professional evangelist and narrow about the small denominational seminary. But that *Elmer Gantry* (Cape, 7s. 6d.) gives us at all a fair picture of American religion, even in the Baptist and Methodist Churches of the Middle West, no one will believe. But the book will sell and Mr. Lewis will be satisfied.

EDITOR.

Dr. W. P. Hatch, an American Episcopal Professor, presented *Idea of Faith in Christian Literature, from the death of S. Paul to the close of the second century* (Milford, 6s. 6d.) for the D.D. at Strasbourg. It is the sequel to *The Pauline Idea of Faith* (Harvard, 1917), the findings of which are summarized in the Introduction and form a starting-point for the development here traced. The various senses of "faith" are distinguished and their prevalence in this or that early Christian writing indicated down to Irenæus, by the date of whose death (c. 200) "the foundations of Catholic theology had already been laid."

"Faith" denotes both "belief" and "trust," though in "some cases both ideas are present," particularly in the mystic type of faith. In the N.T. the idea of trust prevails; in the second century Apologists, from Justin Martyr, belief, in the sense of rational conviction; in Irenæus various shades of meaning are found, but with a tendency for belief, in the sense of "orthodoxy," to overshadow the others. This "gradual shifting of emphasis" is well traced in the chief writings in question. Perhaps the least satisfying case is that of the Fourth Gospel, where the analysis does not go quite deep enough. To say that there "belief is the primary element in faith" is only half true: for what one has to keep in mind is the object of belief, which is throughout a person—whether God or Christ, as witnessing of God. This is implied by the Evangelist's constant use of the verb, and the total absence of the more abstract substantive, faith. But all the materials are well collected and ordered for him who will take the pains needful to feel his way behind them to their vital and fruitful meaning.

VERNON BARTLET.

Prof. Powis Smith, a well-known and highly-respected American scholar, gives us a new translation of the Psalter (University of Chicago Press, 12s. 6d.) with a brief, compact, and very sound critical introduction appended. The latter is in every way excellent, but we do not think that either Prof. Smith or Dr. Moffatt has succeeded very notably in bettering the A.V. of the Jewish hymn-book, although it is always worth while to compare the new attempts with that consecrated by tradition and long usage. There are more than 150 critical emendations, many of which are of value, e.g., Ps. 74⁸ "We will Hellenise them also."

J. P. NAISH.

In *Myth and Constantine the Great* (Oxford Press, 10/-) Dr. Burch has made a critical examination of the legends that cluster round the Emperor Constantine. As a result another bubble is burst and another illusion vanishes. The general conclusion of the book is summed up by the author in the words of the Preface: "By means of new documentary discoveries on the Christian side of the problem of Constantine, we are able to show that the Dacian who found a spiritual home in Romano-Sabine beliefs, ventured only a short distance from its threshold towards the Christ who bore an early name of *Sophia*."

H. T. ANDREWS.

Dr. W. Morgan's *The Nature and Right of Religion* (T. and T. Clark, 10s.) is a bit of genuine theological writing from the point of view that the fundamental religious ideas must be defined in terms of values; and that these values, and not doctrines, are of the first importance to religion, since it is values that are of eternal and universal validity. Virtually then, in the words of Lotze, in its feeling for values reason possesses a genuine revelation and this assumption underlies Dr. Morgan's main argument. Hence his quarrel is with the equating of doctrines and revelation, and the substituting of the Christ of dogma for the Jesus of history as the object of faith; Christ's unique significance is the product of our feeling for the eternal values embodied and expressed in His personality and teaching.

The defect of this position is that it loosens the ties between the religious sentiment and what older-fashioned scientists would call the experimental facts of the universe. Religion sails away from the challenge of science and philosophy into a kind of sea of subjectivity of its own. It seems rash to make everything in religion on a value-theory which has the look of claim—at least a modest amount of indefectibility for itself. But these are not points, where men may differ in an honourable conflict of view. The book is fully alive, and it is a valuable and very readable contribution to recent theology.

The Rev. W. Stuart's *Evolution in Religion* (Williams and Norgate, 6s.) is a useful book, written with care, and with a wide knowledge. The author describes a synoptic view of the whole subject of evolution in religion; but the main part of the book is a review of the religions of the world under the general classification reached by the science of Comparative Religion. In this way the growth of religious experience and belief is illustrated historically. Mr. Stuart manages to give very clear outlines of many of the chief works in the different branches of his subject; and these add very distinctly to the value of his book. Especially in the opening chapter the treatment of the mystical aspects of religion is well worth having within reach.

Written throughout in sympathy with the developments of science, there is no element of strength in the writer's claim for the supremacy of Christianity; the more so that he feels that dogmas drafted in an age when knowledge was comparatively limited should be interpreted in the light of the present. We can sincerely recommend this book to those who are in need of a scholarly and competent survey of a large field of study.

The Rev. M. Morris, the author of *Man Created During Descent* (Marshall, 6d.) believes that "the antiquity of man is so brief that it gives the evolutionary version the *coup de grace*." What he appears to mean is that there are very great differences indeed between man, as we now know him, and his imperfect and crude ancestors of the earlier rudimentary ages, the man of the Old Stone age; and on this hiatus between this primeval man (which he seems to refuse to call man at all) and modern man, the author sets up his assertion (for it is little more) that man was created during descent, at the beginning of the New Stone Age, *i.e.*, something like 10,000 to 8,000 years ago. Mr. Morris stirs a rather petulant theology in his science, and it is difficult to tell sometimes where the one ends and the other begins.

A. T. S. JAMES.

NEW EDITIONS AND REPRINTS.

LAYTON: *The First Draft of St. Luke's Gospel*. Theology Reprints, No. 1. (S.P.C.K., 1s.)

M. WALLER: *The Revelation*. Indian Church Commentaries. 2nd ed. rev. (S.P.C.K., 6s.)

HAILE and W. MONTGOMERY: *The Confessions of Augustine*. Cambridge Patristic Texts. 2nd ed. rev. (Cambridge Press, 15s.)

W. LUTHER: *Western Mysticism*. 2nd ed., much enlarged, with 70 pp. of "Afterthoughts." (Constable, 12s.)

GEORGE HERBERT: *Works*. Prose and Verse, with Izaak Walton's *Life*. Chandos Classics. (Warne, 2s. 6d.)

ENGELS: *The Peasant War in Germany*. With the Preface to the 2nd ed. (1874) and Intro. by D. Riazanov. (Allen & Unwin, 4s. 6d.)

BRAYSHAW: *The Quakers: Their Story and Their Message*. 2nd ed., partly re-written, of a live and useful book. (Swarthmore Press, 5s. and 3s. 6d.)

- W. TEMPLE : *Essays in Christian Politics*. 14 papers from *The Pilgrim*, 4 addresses to the Manchester Diocesan Conference, and a Cambridge sermon. (Longmans, 7s. 6d.)
- V. McNABB : *Infallibility*. 2nd ed. (Sheed and Ward, 2s. 6d.) Admirable tone and temper.
- W. BARRY : *Cardinal Newman*. "People's Library." (Hodder, 2s. 6d.)
- J. M. CONNELL : *A Book of Devotional Readings from the Literature of Christianity*. 2nd ed. (Longmans, 5s.)
- W. B. SELBIE : *The Freedom of the Free Churches*. A companion booklet to *Positive Protestantism*. (Indep. Press, 6d.)
- An Evangelical Free Church Catechism*. 31st imp. (National Free Church Council, 3d.)
- F. W. HAYCRAFT : *The Degrees and Hoods of the World's Universities and Colleges*. 3rd ed. (Cheshunt Press, 4s. 6d.)
- L. COUPERUS : *Eighteen Short Stories*. Eng. trans. (White, 1s.)

Also received :

- J. HASTINGS [Ed.] : *The Speakers' Bible*. 1 Cor. Vol. I. (Speakers' Bible Office, 9s. 6d.)
- E. WALDER : *The God of Love*. A study of the Epistles of John. (William Norgate, 5s.)
- SIR J. MARCHANT [Ed.] : *British Preachers*. 3rd series. 23 sermons, 13 Congregational preachers being Dr. Horton, the Revs. Thomas Yates and W. Major Scott. (Putnam, 6s.)
- H. BULCOCK : *Worship*. Ten Orders of Worship for Free Churches. (Auntie Birkenhead, 9d.)
- M. E. AUBREY : *A Minister's Manual*. Orders of Service for Baptism, Marriage, Burial and Holy Communion. (Kingsgate Press, 2s. 6d.)
- J. M. HALLAM : *The Priest's Promptuary for Preaching*. If this is typical of Roman Catholic preaching Protestantism need have no fear. (Sheed & Ward, 2s. 6d.)
- A. C. HEADLAM : *The New Prayer Book*. The Bishop of Gloucester's Visitation Charge. (Murray, 2s. 6d.)
- BERTRAND RUSSELL : *Why I am Not a Christian*. A lecture to a Secular Society which in places is so cheap that we can only suppose the philosopher despised his audience. (Watts, 7d.)
- P. B. CLAYTON [Ed.] : *The Smoking Furnace and the Burning Lamp*. Talks by Toc H. (Longmans, 4s. and 2s. 6d.)
- The Faith of the Baptists*. Baptist Assembly Addresses, 1926, and the Baptist Reply to the Lambeth Appeal. (Kingsgate Press, 1s.)
- G. W. KEESEY : *The Burial of David Livingstone*. Bardic Chair poem. (Kingsgate Press, 1s.)

PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS.

The Nineteenth Century (Mar.). This "Jubilee Number" is of special interest. An editorial note on the jubilee is followed by Sir Francis Younghusband's "The first Fifty Years," M. Yves-Guyot's "Ma Connexion avec la 'Nineteenth Century'," and Mr. S. K. Phelps's "Personal Reminiscences of Two Editors." Dr. Hagbert Wright surveys "The Evolution of the Periodical" and the rest of the journal admirably illustrates the breadth of content of the make-up, and the merit of the individual articles which have enabled the journal to reach its fiftieth year.

The Holborn (April). The Editor, in some valuable notes on recent Biblical Literature, deals in the main with German books : he makes a strong plea for the resumption of the systematic translation of German works interrupted by the war. The Rev. Robert Ferguson writes interestingly on "The Value of Biography to the Student and Preacher," and the Rev. C. P. Groves

he Bulletin of the John Rylands Library (Jan.). Dr. J. N. Farquhar
nues his account of St. Thomas in South India. Dr. Rendel Harris is repre-
d by "Further Traces of Hittite Migration" and introductions to Dr.
ana's translations of Christian documents in Syriac and Garshūni—a
ise of Barṣalibi against the Melchites and some genuine and apocryphal
ents of Ignatius. Dr. Mingana also discusses Syriac influences on the
of the Kurān. Dr. E. K. Rand writes on St. Martin of Tours.

The International Review of Missions (April). Another valuable number opens with Dr. Latourette's comparison of R. C. and Prot. Missions in China. The Bishop of Masasi writes on "Initiatory Rites" and Miss Gollock on the dioceses of Uganda, Masasi and the Upper Nile. The Rev. Roland Allen discusses the use of the term "indigenous," and among other subjects are Gen. Hertzog's Native Policy, Lord Inchcape's attack on Missions, and the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council.

World Dominion (April). The Rev. Roland Allen is also a contributor to his cogent paper on "Voluntary Service in the Mission Field" being one of the longest articles. Several contributions deal with Islam. Miss Cable writes "The Needed Gesture to the Church in China." There is a good tribal map of tropical South America.

The British Journal of Inebriety (April). Commissioner Adelaide Cox draws on her long Salvation Army experience in "The Woman Inebriate." McAdam Eccles's Sims Woodhead Lecture is on "Alcohol in the Light of Modern Research." Dr. A. W. George deals with "Drunkness and Motor Driving."

The Review of the Churches (April). The Editor, having put Dean Inge in his place in the last number, now turns his attention to the Bishop of Birmingham. He also recommends the withdrawal of Wesleyan opposition to Methodist Union. Dr. Scott Lidgett and the Rev. K. D. Mackenzie write on Prayer Book Revision and Mr. Arthur Black, Dr. G. F. Barbour, and Mr. M. R. Seymour on "How the Churches use their Laymen." Mr. Arnold Lunn butts into the Wells-Bell controversy, and Prof. Carnegie Simpson reviews Mr. Middleton Murry's "extraordinarily unequal" *Life of Jesus*.

The Yale Review (April). Count Keyserling claims that Germany is "the world's laboratory." The Beethoven article is by the Yale Dean of Music, Mr. D. S. Smith. President Hadley writes on "Principles and Methods of University Regulation." The chief literary article is the late Miss Amy Lowell's "Whitman and the New Poetry," though 26 pp. are given to some unpublished letters of Washington Irving.

The Harvard Theological Review (Jan. and Apr.). Textual critics will welcome Prof. Sanders's description of the Michigan papyrus fragment (1571) of the Gospel of John. Mr. W. J. Wilson writes on "The Career of the Prophet Hermas" and H. Goguel on "Recent French Discussions of Christianity: The Series *Christianisme*." In the Apr. No. Prof. Bonner describes a Michigan fragment of Hermas, and there are other important articles.

The Review and Expositor (Bapt., Louisville, Kentucky). A Fourth Day Centenary Number, in which President Mullins and the Hon. J. Leavelle give retrospects, Drs. Z. P. Cody and C. W. Duke memorial addresses of the founder (J. P. Boyce), and the "greatest teacher" (John A. Broadus), and the articles treat of the past and present work of the seminary in particular and of theological education in general.

The Princeton Theological Review (Jan.). If the Editor and contributors can by any means label a book or author "liberal" they are happy, for they then denounce to their hearts' content! Five pages of small print of this kind are given to Dr. Gillie's and Mr. Reid's admirable *Bible for Youth*, and seven pages to Dr. Oman's equally admirable *Grace and Personality*. Anyone desiring to escape the absurdities to which the position of this *Review* leads should read the beginning of Mr. Johnson's article "Holy Scripture and Imaginal Contexts."

The Anglican Theological Review (April). Half the journal is given to reviews of books. The main articles are the Rev. C. E. Hudson's "On Prayer," H. H. Gowen's "The Theriomorphic in Theology," and the Rev. F. H. Hallou's "The Canons of Athanasias."

Social Forces (Mar.). We can imagine American social reformers finding this magazine indispensable, while it has much that is serviceable for social work in this country—an article on the alleged need for an "industrial reserve army" being of this category.